[Mr. James Simpson.]

1109 M. E.

Two days' casual leave and 11 holidays from 8-5-1109 to 23-5-1109.
One day's casual leave and one holiday from 21-6-1109 to 23-6-1109.
One day's casual leave and two holidays from 1-8-1109 to 4-8-1109.

Smell of rotten fish in Alleppey.

48. MR. K. PADMANABHA PANICKAR: Will the Government be pleased to state:

(*a*) whether it has come to their notice that the Municipal town of Alleppey was contaminated with foul and offensive smell due to the rotting of fish on the coast during the past few months and

(*b*) whether any action has been taken by the Alleppey Municipality to remedy this evil.

MR. A. KUMARA PILLAI: (*a*) It has now been brought to the notice of Government by the Municipal President, Alleppey, that a foul smell was prevalent in the beach portion of the town for two or three days towards the end of October 1933 due to the boiling of fish for making fish oil by some unauthorised people.

(*b*) Yes.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANT—(*contd.*)

Discussion on Public Service Recruitment Committee Report.

PRESIDENT: The House will now resume the discussion on grant No. 3 which has already been moved yesterday.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: Sir, the House is now called upon to make their observations and suggestions with regard to the report of the Public Service Recruitment Committee. Sir, it is very gratifying to find from the mover of the demand that the Government keeps an open mind with regard to this question and they have not considered the questions one way or the other and the opinions and suggestions put forward in this House will be duly considered when the Government take up the question to decide it one way or the other. At the same time, Sir, I must admit at the very outset that it is with a bit of disgust that I propose to consider the report of this committee because the same question considered by this committee has been considered by the several members of the legislature, and this House has been made the arena for fighting out this dirty question of communal representation in the public service of the State. The committee also more or less followed those arguments advanced on those occasions and repeated a hundred timees afterward and I regret very much to state that the committee did not bestow any independent thought on the question referred to it. At the same time, Sir, it deserves my thanks for having produced such a very brief report, which according to me, contains 31 pages in Chapter II with which alone we are concerned. Chapter II is of course an

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ingenious exposition of the problem and solution of the problem, but, Sir, when translated into plain English and disrobed of the dexterous ambiguity in which it is enveloped it amounts to an indirect confession of the non-necessity of communal representation in the public service of the State. I say so because that Chapter of the report is full of contradictions and while something like a tug of war is kept up over the pages of the report by the two parties into which the committee got split up and while the reader is perplexed as to how to reconcile the wide differences between the two parties the recommendations of the committee emerge all on a sudden confounding all contradictions and attempting to combine all the extravagant extremes. That being the case, Sir, my submission is the committee has not properly considered the question either from the view point of the existing public service in the State or from the view point of what ought to be the public service of the State hereafter. These two questions were not considered, or according to me, avoided by this committee. I make these statements, Sir, simply to show that the report cannot be acted upon one way or the other or cannot be accepted by this House or by any reasonable man with reference to the particular recommendations concerned. In viewing this question you will also find, Sir, that in formulating the various recommendations the aspirations of both the parties were defeated. On the one hand the idealists wanted to convince the committee that only efficient and competent hands should be recruited to the public service of the State, the communally minded members of the committee on the other hand thought that they would be securing the kingdom of God when they compelled the committee by sheer force of majority to accept some resolutions on communal basis.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know the object that induced Government to appoint this committee? Is it because the Government found that the Travancore public service was quite inefficient or that there was a strong agitation on the part of the public that all communities were not represented that such a committee was appointed to go into the matter?

PRESIDENT: You want the member to answer the question on behalf of Government as to what actuated the Government to appoint the committee? I would sympathise with him if he can answer that question.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: I put the question because the member was saying that the committee was appointed because the public service of the State was found to be inefficient.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: If the member had followed what I was saying he could understand that this subject has been the subject-matter of discussion in the House for the last ten years. Chapter II of the report deals at length with the problem for solution before the committee. That was what I said in my speech.

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[Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai.]

Sir, to illustrate my point I propose to consider recommendations 18, 19 and 20 together. They say that open competition should be accepted to the extent of 10 per cent. of the appointments in the public service of the State and for the rest the competition should be only purely eliminative with a view to get the best men from every community. When this recommendation was made, my fear is, the committee on the whole did not look into the other side of the question, because, according to me, in the practical working of its latter part that excluding the 10 per cent. the rest should be purely an eliminative examination, I think still the committee left much scope for favouritism, corruption and unfairness to the candidates belonging to those communities whose interest the committee wanted to safeguard. I will further illustrate that in this way. It is not unknown in Travancore—probably it may be the case elsewhere—that to the examining authority the father may go with tears in his eyes, the mother may write very heart-breaking letters, not to speak of other legal and illegal, moral and immoral influences brought to bear upon such bodies. Very firm minds have often shaken by appeals of this kind. That is the reason why I said if the examination is to be purely an eliminative one the best men in the community also will not be secured. On the other hand an open competition will not allow anything of that sort, because the parents cannot go to the examining authority and say we know as a matter of fact that the other boy beat our son, but be good enough to say that our son beat the other boy. Therefore, I put it strongly that the examining authority will not go so far to say when it is a question of open competition that the inferior man tops the list according to the examination. That is the reason why I said this will not secure the best men in the community and all sorts of influence will be brought to bear upon the examiners when it is a question of selecting the best men in a particular community.

Again, Sir, when we take para No. 42 the committee said and all the members agreed that the recommendations of the committee will apply only to initial recruitment and not to promotions. If that be again considered, then there will come a time when the efficiency bar may operate against the candidates who are recruited from a particular community when compared to the efficiency of the candidates, who are recruited from those 10 per cent. by open competition. Then again, Sir, the same slogan that there is no Peishkar from my community, no High Court Judge from my community will go on. It is on these two grounds that I said the very desirable aspirations of those members who wanted to secure proper representation in the public service of the State are defeated by the recommendations. I also wish to say, Sir, that the whole report of the committee seems to be dominated by some imperfect notions of the existing civil service in our State.

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To be candid, I must say that the existing civil service in our State is overstaffed, inefficient and incompetent and there is a general opinion among the people that the public service of this State is the last chance of a livelihood for the young men who were too stupid to be successful, in the open competition of the professions outside and for the old who had already failed. Therefore that is why I stated that the committee must have been toiling under this imperfect notion of the public service when they made such recommendations. If that be so, I ask in all earnestness why the members of those communities could not agree with me when I say that open competition should be accepted at least with regard to the executive and administrative lines of the public service of the State. I ask deliberately why the committee should make such recommendations on the basis of communal representation if those communities do not get any benefit proportionately. That is why I asked why not join with me in the opinion that in so far as the executive and the administrative posts are concerned open competition should not be accepted for all communities. I say this Sir, because one has to understand that it is the executive and administrative officers who are concerned with the formation of policy. Almost any administrative decision may be expected to have consequences which will ensure and emerge long after the period of office of a particular person by whom or under whose authority it was taken. So the best men must be put there so that the Government convenience of to-day may not become the Government embarrasments of to-morrow. That is my point, when I advocate that the best men should be selected to the executive and the administrative posts.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know from the member with reference to the competitive examination, who is the competent body to conduct such examinations?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: I said nothing about that in my speech.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: I just ask the opinion of the member. May I know from the member who is the competent body to conduct competitive examinations?

MR. K. P. NILAKNTA PILLAI: So far as I know there is no such body in our State. A body has to be created hereafter Best, strong and impartial men should be appointed in the examining body or board. I do not definitely know.

PRESIDENT: Public Service Commission.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know from the member whether the examining body is to be constituted from among the officials or non-officials?

PRESIDENT: Do not enter into such details. Allow the member to have his say. He has got his own line of arguments.

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MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: I do not say whether it should be from the officials or non-officials. The best, strong and efficient men should be put in the Public Service Commission.

Sir, the committee again made a mistake in dividing the whole public service of the State into inferior, superior and other divisions. What we want is that the public service should be filled by the best men to whatever caste they may belong. It is my belief that the whole public service of the State should be divided into five divisions executive, administrative, clerical staff, writing assistants and short-hand typists. If this division is to be accepted, it would be easier to consider the claims of various communities. I may say to satisfy those who think that injustice is done to them by the Government by not giving sufficient opportunities to the communities less represented in the public service of the State, in regard to the latter 3 divisions, that is clerical staff, writing assistants and short-hand typists, as many as possible of the unrepresented communities should be recruited. That is my emphatic view. So far as the executive and administrative lines are concerned I must emphasise the point that, in the interest, happiness and prosperity of the State and the people, the best men available should be appointed and for that open competition is the best solution. That is followed by all civilised nations in the world. Sir, when I have said so much I have considered almost all the important recommendations of the committee. There is nothing more.

Then we come to minor issues such as the aided institutions in regard to which there was a lot of difference of opinion in the committee and also in the course of discussion in the Lower House. Sir, I have been watching the working of these aided institutions for the last few years and I had occasion to bring to the notice of the Government and the House how unsatisfactorily those institutions work and how the communal spirit play in those institutions. At the last session of the Council I went even to the extent of saying that the time has come for the Government to interfere with the management of these institutions and, if possible, to departmentalise all the aided institutions. As a matter of fact, the aided schools are not managed properly and the Government spend a lot of money by way of grant-in-aid. These institutions should be staffed by the best men available in the State. Whether in teaching profession or in the general public service of the State the public demands efficiency that is satisfactory service. I do not know why one should appoint men of mediocre type when we can get the pick of the talents available in the country for the same salaries. That is another argument in support of my other point. The learned Director of Public Instruction who was a member of the committee pleaded strongly that at least in this department men should not be recruited on the bais of communal representation. The best men ought to be appointed at least for the sake of your children. That was his argument. Therefore, going further, if all the communities should be given equal opportunities to represent in the other branches of the State, I do not understand why these aided institutions which are practically

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conducted by Government by way of grant-in-aid should not be served by efficient men. That is one argument. Why should we go in for inferior men in these institutions which are managed by men who appoint men of their own caste?

MR. M. GOVINDAN (*Nominated*): May I know from the member whether he proposes that the Government should make appointments in aided schools?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: I said that I was advocating the very same case and I understand that in the Education Code now in force there are rules which authorise the Director not to give effect to changes in school staff until and unless it is approved by the Director.

(At this stage one of the Secretariat Peons crossed the floor of the House between the President and the speaker and delivered a chit to one of the Press Reporters).

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Will the Secretary see that nobody crosses the floor of the House between the Chair and the speaker?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: Even now it is in force. By making this suggestion, I am not in any way attempting to curtail the powers of the managers of the aided schools. As I said, my interest is that students should be taught properly and by the best persons. I even go to the extent of saying that any teacher who is appointed in these aided schools should be given a competitive certificate to teach in these schools. Any body can come out successful in the E. S. L. C. or the V. S. L. C. examination. That should not be the criterion There should be some other tests and the certificate should be issued by the Director, and people to whom competetive certificates are issued alone should be recruited in the staff of the management schools.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: May I know from the member whether he is aware of the fact that there is a system of licensing?

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI: The existing system is that automatically when any man comes out successful in examination he can apply for a teaching licence and the licence is issued. That is the existing practice. Members should see the whole picture. There is a lot of educated people in the State and there is unemployment. It is said that some communities have a monopoly and others do not get appointments. If that is the argument and if all the communities produce a lot of efficient educated young men, I ask the question why these institutions should be staffed with inferior men when it is possible to get sound superior men? That is my point. I do not want to deal with the communal aspect with reference to this department. I want the best men to be sent and the whole staff of the department filled with efficient men whether in departmentally run schools or aided institutions. Every school should be filled with the best men available in the country. That is my point.

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MR. M N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: For the last two or three decades the thorny problem of representation in public service has been persistently agitating the public mind and we are happy to note that our Government have all along been evincing a great deal of earnestness and anxiety to arrive at an early and satisfactory solution of this much vexed question. The appointment of the Public Service Recruitment Committee is no doubt viewed as a mark of advance in the policy hitherto followed by Government. This committee has closed its labours and submitted its recommendations to Government, and as the representatives of the people we are now invited by Government to offer our views on the same.

It is true that communal question has become a problem of the first magnitude in our country. It has loomed large in the public eye and overshadowed every other consideration in recent deliberations concerning the welfare of the country. Communal bitterness and antagonism have increased in a variety of ways. Everybody was till now hoping and praying that the country would be rid of this monster of communalism. The whole country was anxiously looking forward with great expectation that the Public Service Recruitment Committee would solve this problem and save the country from the throes of communal discord. But I must frankly submit, Sir, that the report of the committee is thoroughly disappointing and is not worth the time and money spent for it. The committee was asked to devise means by which this problem of communal representation in public service could be effectively and successfully solved.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI: May I know why communal bitterness has increased now?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I am not now attempting to trace out the sources of this evil and how it has taken root and developed in our country. As a matter of fact we actually find that communal bitterness has increased tremendously.

The committee was asked to devise means by which this problem could be solved, but in my opinion it has colossally failed to achieve even the minimum measure of success. There is absolutely no unanimity or agreement even among the various members constituting the committee on any matter of importance and we are very much surprised to find in the report as many dissenting minutes as there are members.

Every one who happens to go through the pages of this report will certainly be obsessed with an irresistable feeling when he finishes reading it that he is not in the least benefited or profited by it. There is no gainsaying the fact that even the most casual reader is able to notice rank communalism in very many of the members themselves. We observe with regret so much of mutual distrust and suspicion among these members that they were not able to cut clear through all communal divisions and to bestow sufficient seriousness on the problem or view it in its proper perspective. In the midst of the communal venom

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and hatred emitted in the dissenting note of the Mahomedan representative and the subdued expressions of communal discord and sectarian antipathies successfully given vent to in the dissenting minutes of the trio and in the striking note of communism preached by Mr. Narayanaperumal Nadar, one has only to search in vain for a solution of the communal problem.

PRESIDENT: 'Communalism' please, and not 'communism'.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: '*Communism*', Sir; that is what he has preached.

The recommendations of the committee can be broadly classified under three main heads:—

(1) The principles to be followed in recruitment to inferior service;

(2) Those to be followed in the matter of recruitment to superior service including both ministerial and executive; and

(3) The machinery or agency by which the selection of candidates is to be made so as to secure fair and adequate representation for the unrepresented communities.

If we consider the merits of these recommendations we will find that they are not really going to serve as an elixir for the existing grievances of the inadequately represented communities in the State.

According to the proposal of the committee, recruitment to inferior service should be made in accordance with the numerical strength of the various communities, whereas in the case of the superior service, in the opinion of some, appointments should be made only on the following principle, *viz.*, a competitive examination should be held and 10 per cent. of the vacancies should be filled up with successful candidates in the said examination, irrespective of caste or creed, and the remaining 90 per cent. to be distributed in accordance with the principle of communal rotation based on the percentage of literacy possessed by each community. On no principle can recruitment to public service based upon population be recognised by us. It is contented by some members that since about 40 or 50 per cent. of the State revenue collected from the various communities is spent upon salaries, every such community has a right to claim fair and adequate representation in the administration of the State. So far, the proposition is perfectly sound and I have absolutely no quarrel with it. But I am sorry I cannot agree with them in their contention that such representation should be made on the basis of population. There is a fudamental and obvious fallacy underlying this agreement. If taxation is to be accepted as the basis for representation in public service, I think, all the appointments will have to be distributed according to the percentage of taxpayers in each community. The others will have to be denied the right to participate in the administration of the country, just as they are denied the right of franchise in the election of members to the legislature.

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MR. H. O. L. MARIKAR (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Is there anybody who is not paying some tax or other to Government?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: There are ever so many.

MR. H. O. L. MARIKAR: May I know whether even the beggar is not paying tax on the salt that he consumes or on his tobacco?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I do not think so. It is not the beggar who bears the salt tax but the person who gives him the charity.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know the amount and special nature of the tax that that particular community, which now has the monopoly for service in the Military Department, pays to Government?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I have not taken statistics of the amount of tax paid by that community.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: May I know from the member whether, according to the member, if a poor person stands first in the proposed competitive examination, he should be denied the chance of recruitment merely because he does not pay any tax?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Sir, my friends seem to have misunderstood me. I was only trying to meet the argument advanced by some of the members of the committee. Some of the members of the committee have suggested that recruitment to public service must be based on population. It is also suggested that since about 40 or 50 lakhs of rupees are now spent on salaries and pensions, the distribution of appointments should be made on the basis of population. I was only just trying to criticise that suggestion.

Equality of opportunity to serve the State is a claim which the educated alone could put forward and not the illiterate and the inefficient.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know what according to the member, is the test of efficiency?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I will come to that.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: When?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: In the course of my speech.

In regard to the principle of recruitment to the superior service I am sorry I cannot agree with my friend Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai. I seriously object to the introduction of competitive examination. The committee, at any rate, those who advocate it, do not give us any clear idea of the personnel of the Board of Examiners to be constituted for the purpose. When a Board is created from among the members of the various communities, it will not be too much to expect that, just as each member of the Public Service Recruitment Committee, composed of eminent and representative citizens, stands the risk of being accused of partiality for the community to which he belongs, the Board

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will also become the target of communal attack. Competitive examination, after all, will not be a true and safe test to get at efficiency. Very often we come across numerous instances of men who have proved themselves to be failures in practical life notwithstanding their brilliant and distinguished academic qualifications. Then again we do not know whether this kind of examination is to be conducted every time a vacancy arises, or only once in a year or two. In the latter case there is the serious danger of candidates, who come out highly successful from schools and colleges in the meantime, being deprived of their chances to get into the service of the State.

As regards the proposal for the formation of a Public Service Commission, I, for one, do not find any appreciable public utility in spending any money for that purpose. The reason advanced for the appointment of a commission is that at present the heads of departments and other officers entrusted with the power of making appointments could not or would not see merit in members of communities other than their own. We are, indeed, surprised to hear this from the members of the committee. When these members themselves could not honourably rise above the communal tangle and view things impartially, what guarantee is there that the same charge of partiality will not be levelled at the door of this commission, which is to be composed of an official President and five members including a woman, each representing the community to which he or she belongs. Each one of them will no doubt advocate only the cause of his or her community. Sir, when appointments, like those of Munsiffs, made by the half a dozen or seven Judges of our Honourable High Court, who are always expected to rise above communalism of any sort and act with thorough impartiality and justice, could not gain the approval and satisfaction of the Bar and of the public, how can we expect that the appointments made by the commission will receive people's approbation. It is only the other day that I chanced to read from the Hindu that there are a lot of complaints against the Public Service Commission in the Madras Presidency.

The committee was so engrossed with the question of the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office that they hopelessly missed the opportunity to consider the various other aspects connected with the public service which have created or tended to aggravate the communal tension in the country. It is not communal representation that is mostly needed to establish peace and harmony in the land but the removal of some of the other evils that have gradually crept into our system of public service. There are very many aspects of this all important question which have to be considered in a thoroughly impartial manner so that the maximum amount of agreement and contentment could be arrived at among the various warring communities in the State. As it is, neither my friend Mr. Kunjitomman nor Mr. P. S. Mahomed, not even myself is really benefited merely because a few members of our respective communities happen to be entertained in our public service.

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[Mr. M. N. Paramesvaran Pillai.]

What I would, therefore, suggest for the anxious consideration of Government is that the system of public service now obtaining in this country should be immediately and thoroughly overhauled in every branch of its activities. In recommending such a drastic step, I realise, I have not to face the communal problem, but I am fully aware that I have to encounter not only the vested interests of the powerful officialdom in Travancore but also the large army of pensioners in the country; and I do seriously apprehend whether I would be able to secure that warm support which my suggestions richly deserve from this side of the House. Even if these suggestions of mine receive the unanimous approval of this Council, I feel sure, that as affairs stand at present, they will only be thrown to the winds. Success or failure is, therefore, immaterial to me. I only wish to voice forth the opinion of the masses, opinion that is gaining strength every day, and you may be certain that ere long the State and its officials will have to reckon with a situation which by timely action they could possibly avert with success.

In dealing with the question of public service one has necessarily and incidentally to examine the policy followed by Government in the matter of appointments, grant of salaries, and pensions. In spite of the repeated complaints from the non-official side of both the Houses that our administrative machinery is top-heavy and over-manned, it is lamentable that our Government have not shown any earnestness in reducing the expenditure on the Civil List. The salaries attached to most of the offices are extremely extravagant, considering the requirements of service. It is this aspect which induced me to send up a resolution that no officer in our State service, except the Dewan, shall be allowed a salary of more than Rs. 500. So long as there is no standard of living prescribed for our officers, as in the case of the Civilians in British India, I think the maximum salary suggested by me is quite adequate for a high-paid officer in our State to maintain a decent status.

The head of a department or for the matter of that, any other officer who maintains no carriage or car, who travels usually by third class and receives first or second class travelling allowance from Government, who gets his pay in Travancore currency but deposits a like amount in British currency in some bank on attractive rates of interest and who insures his life for fifty or seventyfive thousand rupees and yet finds sufficient funds to send his sons and sons-in-law to western countries for higher education—why should such a man be paid a high salary from the poor tax-payers' money? I do not think it quite necessary for me to inform this House that in Travancore anything more than Rs. 500 per mensem will be required to maintain the highest standard of life. It may be argued that a reduction in salary will tend to our officials lapsing into corrupt practices. My answer is that pay, whether high or low, is no matter; corruption or no corruption, after all, depends upon

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the character of the individuals concerned. Do such advocates, I ask, maintain that all the honorary officers in the State are corrupt? In my humble view a high paid officer is a spoilt child of Government. It is his high salary that is mostly responsible for his going astray, never satisfied with what he gets. The enormous acquisition of landed properties by most of our high paid officers during the tenure of their service and after retirement, and the fabulous insurance policies and chitty assets held by the majority of them, unmistakably show that the salaries allowed to them are excessive and far above the actual requirements.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI: May I ask the member whether, if the principle of communal representation is adopted, it will not drive away all these evils?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Certainly not. That is my opinion.

No other learned profession is, at present, so attractive and profitable as public service and this is perhaps responsible to a very great extent for the present unrest in the country consequent upon the scramble between the various communities for the emoluments and honours of office. Public service seems to the average man the most comfortable of existences. The salary is fixed and certain. There is no fear of unemployment. Economic crisis leaves it unaffected. Provision is made against both old age and accident.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: When every such attractive place under Government is monopolised by a particular community, is it not quite natural that the other communities agitate?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I am sorry my friend has not understood me correctly. What I am saying is that Government service should be made less attractive.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: Is that suggestion now made because certain communities which were hitherto kept out of service are now putting forth their legitimate claim for entry into it?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Certainly not; certainly if I were born years ago, I would certainly have made that suggestion even then.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know whether the member would advocate reduction of salary in the Devaswom Department?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Certainly, everywhere.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: In the Military Department also?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: That is beyond our purview.

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[Mr. M. N. Parameswaran Pillai.]

Another feature of our public service which we have to condemn in strong terms is the vicious system of official patronage. The public service to-day is mainly confined to the favoured few and their closest kith and kin. Even the best and highly intelligent youth, to whatever community he may belong, has yet to qualify himself before he could aspire to enter service; for, without a powerful and influential godfather, the avenues of public service in Travancore will only be closed to him. I do not believe for a moment that this situation will change even if the much talked of Public Service Commission is appointed. What I, therefore, contend for is that the public service should not be the monopoly or patronage of a few. Equality of opportunity should be given to every one equipped for service in the State. It cannot be gainsaid that while many efficient and qualified individuals remain outside the panel of public service, several who could not hold the candle before them are pushed even up to the highest ladder in public service owing to nepotism. I am sure that if the word "efficiency" is removed from the English Dictionary our Government, like many other Governments, would find itself helpless and unable to justify its various acts of patronage. As the result of favourtism, irregularities of every kind are committed so that the very rules by which the different departments of public service are governed become in fact worthless. A distinguished officer is sometimes dismissed from his post to make room for a young political nominee ignorant of even the rudiments of his profession. In the matter of promotion some safeguard is surely needed. Unless a bulwark is erected against promotion at pleasure the appointing authority will usually pick out his own candidates for promotion. We know of numerous instances of the acceleration of advancement for purely political reasons. At present there is too little guarantee that a meritorious continuity of service may count at all. Very often a vacancy in a higher position is filled in the most arbitrary fashion. Again no system exists which regulates the transference of officials from one department to another. If a public servant advances, as he thinks, too slowly in one department he uses political influences to obtain a position two or three grades higher in another.

There is yet another abuse in our public service and that is this. Our Government are of late too fond of importing too many foreigners into our public service completely ignoring the claims of local talents. While we are fighting among ourselves for the smaller loaves and fishes of office several foreigners are slowly taken into our service on huge salaries and allowances to lord over us. This policy of Government has not only created serious heartburning among the native officers but it has also tended to impair the efficiency of service and to increase the drain on the State revenue.

Another point which I wish to stress on the attention of Government is that they do not strictly enforce the age limit for retirement. There are several officers in active service who have actually passed the

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age of 55 and 60 although according to the Civil List they have still several years more to complete the age of retirement. No effective check is now placed upon this kind of malpractice and dishonesty. As a consequence of this we know several instances where younger brothers have retired before their elder brothers. There have been also cases where elder brothers have lost their Karnavastanom or headship of the family, because they happened to give false age when they entered service. You may laugh, Sir, when I tell you that in very many cases if the dates of birth of the children of some of our officers and also the age given by such officers for the purpose of the Civil List are taken, you will be able to find to your amazing surprise that some of these children could have been born only during the infancy of their fathers. I am also aware that there are numerous instances where our Government themselves have knowingly and deliberately permitted superannnuated employees to occupy the more important positions of responsibility in the State. The loss that results to a Government when a superanuated man is retained in such a position is beyond the province of statistics. Retention of the superannuated and the disabled may block the avenues of promotion and lessen the speed of work and thereby destroy the morale which is essential if the public service is to be well administered. Not only does such an employee administer the undertakings submitted to him poorly, but he is checking the avenues of advancement. One vacancy at the top involves advancement all down the line. Stagnation in promotion breeds inefficiency and lack of interest, whereas opportunity for advancement keeps up the morale of a force. It will, therefore, be a stupendous folly to extend the age of retirement to 58 or 60. In my view, to ensure efficiency and to secure increased output of work the age of retirement should be reduced from 55, at least in the case of the executive officers.

Another point to which I wish to advert in this connection is the unjustifiable and invidious distinction shown by our Government in the matter of grant of pay, pension and other privileges to officers got down from outside including Europeans, as compared with the privileges enjoyed by the sons of the soil. At present, all the "prize-posts" in public service are almost set apart for foreigners. I hope these matters will receive the favourable consideration of Government especially when we have as our Dewan one who, as a distinguished member of the Royal Commission appointed in 1924, had emphatically recorded his note of disapproval in maintaining such distinctions in British India. I shall quote your very words and ask you, Sir in all earnestness whether we could not legitimately hope that you would remove such distinctions especially when you have the opportunity to accomplish that. In the minute of dissent to the Royal Commission this is what you and the other Indian members expressed :—

> "We think it would be politically unwise and administratively mischievous to give effect to the doctrine now sought to be introduced, that if Indians and Europeans in high administrative posts are paid the same amounts, the European must in

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fact be worse off than his Indian contemporary, and that consequently the income of the European must be supplemented in one form or another. The proposal of our European colleagues to thus differentiate between the European and Indian incumbents of high administrative appointments would cause deep resentment among the latter, who, when holding such high appointments have to incur heavy expenses befitting the rank and position apart from meeting their social and other obligations which increase proportionately and add considerably to their pecuniary liabilities with the result that their total expenses are in no way less than those of their European contemporaries. We wish to sound a note of warning that any attempt to yield to the suggestion made by our European colleagues will inevitably lead to an agitation on the part of the Indian Officers holding these positions which it will be neither reasonable nor prudent to resist."

As regards our pension system I have to state that owing to the indiscriminate policy followed by Government, the pension charges due to normal retirements have gone up considerably. At the outset when the pension system was evolved the number of employees of advanced age in the Government service was only small and it seemed but a simple matter then to grant them suitable pensions to be paid like salaries out of the current revenues of the State, and to fill their places with young and active successors. But each succeeding year, however, added its new quota to the roll of pensioners and although every year a few pensioners used to die, this new quota has increased the total number. The aggregate amount of pension payments, therefore, increased and after a comparatively few years the pension payments formed a very considerable percentage of the total revenue. The legislature and the public have, therefore, begun to realise that what in its beginning seemed an inexpensive method of providing for aged employees constituted in fact a serious drain on the resources of the State.

The pension charges which were only 9·81 lakhs in 1101 have by 1107 risen up to 13·2 lakhs and by 1108 to 14 lakhs. It is also curious to note that in some sections of public service the number of pensioners far exceeds the number in actual service. A Government which adopts a retirement system without fairly accurate information regarding its future cost is guilty of neglect of its obvious duties to the public. Increase under pension item, according to me, is due to two main factors, *viz.*, the creation of several new and unnecessary posts and the high salaries attached to most of the offices. At present more than half the revenue of the State is spent on salaries and pensions. It is therefore time for the State to curtail this growing expenditure on account of high salaries and pensions. If that is done I am sure there will be no glamour or scramble for Government appointments. Such a condition is bound to restore tranquility and concord, for we find that the communal rivalry in the State centres round this all-important question of money grabbing through public service.

The only principle, so far as I can understand, on which a pension system can be recognised is that, because an employee who enters Government service is considered to have made a sacrifice of a major

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part of his life for the State and has grown gray in the service, the latter should make provision for his old age. In most cases this general principle is not at all applicable. If we review the public service in our State I am sure we will not be able to pick out a single case where the services were requisitioned by the State. Whatever one may say in theory, the broad fact remains that in Travancore, entry into public service is purely a matter of individuals offering their services and securing the appointments for their own ends and not of the State requisitioning their services as indispensable. I may be accused of indiscretion but I fear, I shall not be true to myself if I do not boldly say what I strongly feel in the matter.

MR. H. O. L. MARIKAR: Does the member recommend then a reduction of salary in the inferior service?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Not in the pay of peons, petty officers, other similar employees but in the case of fat salaries there should be substantial reduction.

Even if pension is intended as a recompense for meritorious services rendered and sacrifices made, the tax-payer has, in my opinion, every right to ask Government whether they should not consider before fixing the amount of pension, the earnings of their respective officers made out of their pay or otherwise while in service, the other earnings made during service from their hobbies or secondary avocations, if any, such as painting, literary contributions and the like and also the capacity of such persons to earn by such avocations even after retirement.

MR. H. O. L. MARIKAR: May I know out of 7,500 employees a good percentage happens to be from one and the same community? Can the member enlighten me as to how this disparity came into existence?

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I am not responsible for that. I may at once say that to me it matters little whether a member of my frend's community or of the Christian community or for the matter of that of the Nayar community is given a lucrative place in our public service. No person should be prohibited from entering into public service by the mere fact that he belongs to a particular community.

PRESIDENT: If you go on at this rate I am sorry I will have to put a time limit. Please finish soon.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I should think that, besides considering these, the State should have in view the nature and extent of the help such persons require on retirement. To my mind there cannot be any justice or equity in Government awarding a pension of Rs. 400 or 450 to an officer on his retirement, having a big family of a dozen or more souls depending on him and the same amount being awarded to another who has none but himself and his wife to share it. The economic and social needs of the employee should be a consideration in fixing the pension. Why should he be given an amount over and above what is actually required to permit him to live

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decently without involving a very large amount of sacrifice on retirement. There is no justification for providing any benefit in the event of ordinary disability but to give a benefit in the event of disability in the actual performance of duty is no doubt a matter of justice. Social ethics would also seem to demand that the cost of such benefit should be borne by the consumers of the service.

We also find that there is no justifiable reason in extending the protecting hand of law to such big pensioners by making their pension amounts immune from attachment in execution of decrees, while the law mercilessly permits the attachment of the pay of Rs. 20 given to a poor clerk who has to work hard all the days of the month to earn the same. This cannot be characterised as anything else than the extension of the vicious system of patronage anxiously maintained by many Governments. A pension system creates a specially privileged class supported in old age or in the event of earlier disability at the expense of the taxpayer. In my humble view they are no more entitled to public charity and benevolence than men who have grown gray in serving the public in some private capacity, for instance the members of the legal profession. This system of patronage together with the policy of keeping the proletariat in ignorance by prescribing a costly system of education as the one recommended by our Education Reforms Committee, can only be the characteristic of a Government or a State that is anxious to conserve its powers and I humbly behove our Government which always talks of the interest of the people as its prime consideration, to take up these questions in all earnestness and remedy the existing evils. The pensioners, pardon me when I say that, are at present a stumbling block to political progress. So long as pension has the characteristic of charity the retired employees cannot lend their willing support to any political movement in the country.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI (*Mavelikara and Kartikapalli* cum *Kunnattur*) Sir, I rise to congratulate the Travancore Public Service Recruitment Committee for producing a report which is rather readable. But I do not congratulate the committee on their recommendations. It is none of their fault that they could not make proposals which are logical and consistent. In the very nature of the case it is impossible to submit proposals satisfying to all people concerned. It would be as difficult to make proposals regarding recruitment as satisfactory and satisfying to all as to make sunshine out of cucumber. I do not want to speak at length regarding the mischievious consequences that might follow this committee's report. I do not want to share the injured appearance of a prophet in the wilderness which my friend Mr. Parameswaran Pillai assumed. I do not want to prophesy that sulpher and brimstone will burn in this New Jerusalem of Travancore, if my words are not heeded to, if these proposals are not weighty, but, at the same

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time I do want to impress upon the Government that if the Government act from time to time placating particular interests and communities by making slightly inconsistent pronouncements there will be no end of the trouble to the Government. From the declarations I have seen recited in the body of the report it is clear that the Travancore Government has not committed itself to a policy of communal representation and rightly so. At the same time Government has promised that, other things being equal, preference should be given to those people who had not the vanity of their members being represented in certain departments of Government. If the Government is going to accede to the proposals of such high priests of communalism as Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman or Mr. C. O. Madhavan, I do not want to picture to this House the great deterioration in public service that might result therefrom. That would be the most logical and immediate result of the adoption of such a policy. Hitherto the complaint had been that some communities had been prevented from entering Government service owing to the accident of birth. Now they go to the other extreme of saying that birth must be made a ground of preference. In my humble view, birth must neither be a hindrance nor a preference in the matter of public service. What a private employer does want is efficiency. In workshops and factories the employers go in only for the best men available and efficiency is the criterion followed in the matter of appointment. They do not take into account Dr. Kunjan Pillai's Census Report and look into the tables of caste-war statements to see whether a particular clerk or typist must be appointed. There is no reason why the State should follow a principle which is different from that adopted by the employers all over the world.

The recommendations are mischievous from another point of view in that they evoke and generate hope in those small communities which can never be satisfied even under the most prosperous conditions. The communal leaders only have been giving high hopes of a new millenium in the public service if this principle of communal representation is adopted. The net result would be that the poor young men of the different communities would hope that they would get employments if these proposals are adopted by Government. These young men instead of going for profitable employment elsewhere would be hanging about the officers of the Government and possibly about the members of the Council also. As a matter of fact personally, I have the greatest sympathy with the heads of departments, as even the members are flattered by the visits of hundreds of young men seeking employment in all departments. Therefore my submission is that the Government must remain firm and must make it clear that they are not going to surrender to the clamour for communal representation. There is no reason why those people who are in service should be penalised for having been in it.

I do not also subscribe to the view that there must be some big act of annihilation of the pensioners as proposed by Mr. Paramesvaran Pillai. The pension is not a gratuity given by the Government but is only deferred pay. A maximum salary seems to have been fixed by

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my honourable friend for officers. My view is that the Government offices must be made the most attractive in order that the best sons and daughters of the soil might be attracted to the public service and that the refuse of the professions may not get into the Government service. That does not mean that I endorse every act of the Government nor do I endorse every administrative act of the Government by which a Police Commissioner or some other man is given a much higher salary than a High Court Judge or even the Chief Justice I do not subscribe to that. The Government must standardise the salaries of the officers. Otherwise it would impair the efficiency of the service. Even if the non-official members are offered to form the Government, I am afraid they would not do so for such a modest salary of Rs. 500 a month. I am sorry for those communities which have been clubbed together. To get at some formula Nadars are classified with Kammalas, etc.,—strange bed-fellows. I have studied a bit of logic in college days. (I learnt Latin mnemonics such as Barbara, celarent, etc, which I found not so difficult to study as the formula for appointment recommended in the report.) I am at a loss to understand the necessity for such illogical classification in the public service! These tables of rotation, permutation and combinations of communities like Koravan and Kanyan, Brahmins and Nayars, Adidravidas and Nadars, Christians, yea Latin rites and the syriac rites!!

MR. M. GOVINDAN: May I know from the member whether he will be agreeable to the division of Hindus as caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus?

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: I have made it clear that such divisions are mischievous and are calculated to impair the efficiency of the service.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know from the member whether the distinction between Brahmins and non-Brahmins as in Madras is adversely affecting his community?

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: My reply is we do not take cues in politics from the non-Brahmin ministry of Madras.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: Is it a fact that the non-Brahmin community has been affected by that?

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: That is also not free from doubt. The very fact that non-Brahmins are going in now for the service of the Brahmins in Madras shows that the non-Brahmin political philosophy is defective in many points.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: Is it defective in the matter of appointments in public service?

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: For that matter, the member could very well hold correspondence with Sir K. V. Reddy who could better enlighten him than myself.

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MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I ask the member whether he is conversant with the existing conditions in the non-Brahmin Ministry in the Madras Government?

PRESIDENT: He cannot be asked questions in regard to the policy of some other Governments in some other parts of the world (*Laughter.*) We should talk of our public service, of what we see around us in Travancore.

MR KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: Am I to understand from the member that the division of Hindus as caste and non-caste Hindus would be thoroughly mischievous?

PRESIDENT That is his view.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: The whole report of the committee is full of compromises with well established principles of public administration, and that accounts for the faulty nature of the report. I wish to draw the atiention of the Government to an early Proclamation so old as Kanni 1050. It is I think now a dead letter but is not formally annulled. The Proclamation by the then Maha Raja calls upon all the heads of departments not to appoint their relatives, sons, sons-in law without the previous sanction of the Government I am sure that has been considered as a dead letter by the Government ever since. If only the Government would draw the attention of the subordinates to that important Proclamation and put down nepotism of every kind, the blot of our public services will gradually vanish.

Before I finish my speech, I also want to enter my protest against the wholesale nature in which Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai accused the public service. I am not full of enthusiasm for many of the members of Government and yet, at the same time, I may say that our Government, our civil servants in Travancore, do not appear to do their work so badly as in other Indian States nor do they compare badly with those of the neighbouring British Indian Provinces. Here, under trying conditions, sometimes the civil services in Travancore have been doing very commendable work; and it would be certainly not fair, not graceful on our part in throwing mud on their achievements (Hear, hear.)

PRESIDENT: We will now adjourn and resume at 1-45.

The Council adjourned for lunch at 1 P. M. and reassembled at 1-45 P. M. with Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai, one of the panel of Chairmen, in the Chair.

MR. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPI: In supporting the suggestions made here, by Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai, from the very beginning I have to emphatically protest the manner in which this subject is placed before the House. The subject is placed before the House by way of accepting remarks contained in the report. The Chief Secretary said yesterday that the subject is placed as in the case of the report of the Education Reforms Committee to know the opinion of the honourable members of this House. If the Government were earnest in knowing the opinion and the general sense of this House, the report

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ought not to have been placed for voting and each recommendation ought to have been placed before the Assembly for voting and then referred to this House. We are called here to make speeches on the recommendations without any purpose and our valuable time and money are wasted at the cost of the public service. I tell you, Sir, in such matters of public interest, especially affecting the present and future administration, they ought to go before the legislature for voting. Even when the report of the Education Reforms Committee was placed before the House, we made our protest in the way in which that report was placed before the House. I earnestly request you, Sir, before Government pass final orders on this subject, this report ought to be placed before the legislature, and only after knowing the sense of the House and the opinion of the majority on the matter, final orders on this report can be passed.

Coming to the report, Sir, the question of recruitment to public service has been engaging the attention of the Government for the last 25 years or more. During this long period, we had the best administrators, persons like Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Sir P. Rajagopalachary and Mr. M. E. Watts and others, and none of them were able to come to a satisfactory conclusion for the recruitment to the public service. The committee was appointed to report on this matter, presided over by one of our greatest communalists, represented by different creeds and colours, and the public were anxiously awaiting the report and after all they have brought forth a report just like a mountain brought forth a mouse. I beg to point out to you, Sir, it is the right of every citizen to ask for an efficient administration and it is the duty of every civilized Government to keep an efficient administration. It is not the right of every citizen to ask for an apportionment of the public service, and the principle of electing the best man accepted in the matter of public service. I can point out to you, Sir, how in the Judicial Department vacancies are filled in latter years. Vacancies are named not by offices but by communities, as for instance, Nayar vacancy, Brahmin vacancy, Ezhava vacancy, Paraya vacancy or Pulya vacancy, etc. By that in the Judicial Department when a Nayar vacancy happens, a Nayar will be preferred to the best man of another community and there are instances in which such men are taken in previous years, and in the case of other vacancies also *vice versa*. The result is the cry of the Laws' delays. I emphatically protest against such a procedure being followed and I beg to point out that, in the matter of public service, the best men, even from the lower service or from the superior service, be selected by a competitive examination. I cannot understand why communities should be preferred for particular vacancies. You may wonder, Sir, how qualifications are prescribed in the Police Department and in the Excise Department; qualifications are different for different communities! Could you believe, Sir, a graduate applicant was thrown out because he belonged to a particular community for a constable's place and a Pulaya with hardly any qualification and not able to write his name was taken for the place. How could efficiency be maintained in such a department? This is

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the principle followed in the Excise Department. The subjects of His Highness the Maha Raja should be considered equal, and in the eyes of His Highness the Maha Raja, a Pulaya, a Paraya and a Brahmin are considered alike, and so the public service should be thrown open to all. But the best man should be selected and appointed irrespective of the community to which he may belong. It is not the right of a Pulaya that because he is born in that community and that he has sufficient qualification, he must be appointed a Munsiff or a District Judge nor can the public service be given on population basis. Why not the Mala Vedas or the Kanikkars who are living in the mountains be taken as Munsiffs and District Judges? Because one happens to belong to a particular community, has he not got the right to enter the public service? And I tell you, Sir, that educational qualifications alone are not sufficient for taking a person into the public service One man may not be healthy, another may be suffering from contagious disease and a third may not be a man of good character. If qualifications alone are to be taken into consideration, all these should be considered in choosing a man for the public service. I beg to point out, Sir, as rightly observed by Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai, that there should be a selection for superior service as well as for inferior service. One of my friends was questioning about the members of particular communities represented in the public service. It is not the members of each community that are responsible for taking a large number of officers, or a large number of men in the higher service, but it is the efficiency that should be considered for filling up higher posts. It would have been thought that members of a particular community had some special rights for serving His Highness the Maha Raja. For instance, you will find, to your great astonishment, that a recommendation is made in the report in Chapter 10, paragraph 43 about the Military Force.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Has any community in Travancore more right to serve His Highness the Maha Raja?

MR. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPI: Every community and every blessed community has the right to serve His Highness the Maha Raja or the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja. Here there is a recommendation made in paragraph 115 of the report about the non-Nayars. I am questioning that. Are the Nayars responsible for their appointment in the Army by His Highness the Maha Raja for the best services done or on account of competence, or on account of ability as military men? Why should Nayars be excluded in such important departments as the Forest, Police and the Excise? This recommendation seems to have been made by one of our Judicial Officers of the State, and I cannot understand the gist of the recommendation. So, I earnestly point out to you, Sir, that the report as it is, is a partition deed, a per capita partition deed, which is opposed to all morals and opposed to all principles and I earnestly request that this report be not accepted and that recruitment to the public service be made only on the basis of efficiency.

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MR. JACOB HASSAN SAIT (*Commerce and Industry, North*): സർ, ഇതേസംബന്ധിച്ചു രണ്ടു വാക്കു പറയണമെന്നു ഞാനാഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ പിന്നോട്ടുനിൽക്കുന്ന അധഃകൃതസമുദായത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളോടു് അവരുടെ ഉൽക്കർഷത്തെക്രുടി ലാക്കാക്കി നിയമനങ്ങൾ നടത്തുകയും അവക്കു് റെപ്രസെന്റേഷൻ മുപ്പതുവയസ്സാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യണമെന്നും ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. അധഃകൃതരിന്ദുക്കൾക്കുവേണ്ടി പതിനാറാംശുപാർശയിൽ ചിലസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അധഃകൃതക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളെ പ്രത്യേകം തിരിച്ചതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസകോഡുപ്രകാരം അധഃകൃതർഎന്ന നിർവചനത്തിൽ അധഃകൃതക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളെക്കൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഫന്നാമത്തെ ശുപാർശയിൽ അധഃകൃതഹിന്ദു എന്നസ്ഥാനത്തു അധഃകൃതർ എന്നു് മാറേണ്ടതാണു്. സ്ത്രീകളെ തനിച്ചൊരു പ്രത്യേകഗ്രൂപ്പായി ഗണിച്ചിട്ടാവശ്യമില്ല. ഓരോവകുപ്പിൽപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളേയും ആവകുപ്പിൽപെട്ട സ്ത്രീകളേയും പ്രത്യേകസമുദായമായി ഗണിച്ചു പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസിൽ പ്രവേശിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. സർവീസ് കമ്മീഷനിൽ അഞ്ചുമെമ്പറന്മാരും ഒരു പ്രസിഡൻറും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ ശുപാർശയെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസിൽ പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ സ്വഭാവവിശേഷത ഉള്ളവർ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം നിയമനം നടത്തേണ്ടതാണു്. ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തു സുപ്പീരിയർസർവീസിലും ഇൻഫീരിയർസർവീസിലും ആയി ചെറുതും വലുതുമായ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ഉള്ളതിൽ ഒരു ഒമ്പതു ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾമാത്രമെ മുസ്ലീംസമുദായത്തിനുള്ളു. ഇതു് അവക്കു കിട്ടേണ്ടതായ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ വളരെ കുറവായിരിക്കുകയാണു്. ആയതുകൊണ്ടു ഗവണ്മെൻറു് എല്ലാഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലും കൂടുതൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം അവക്കു നൽകേണ്ടതാണു്. പബ്ലിക്കുസർവ്വീസ് കമ്മീഷനിൽ അഞ്ചുമെമ്പർമാർ ഉള്ളതിൽ ഒരു മുസ്ലീംമെമ്പർകൂടി വേണമെന്നു ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നു. അതുപോലെ നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ടു തയ്യാറാക്കിയ കമ്മിറ്റിയെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു.

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: Sir, I have carefully gone through the report of the Public Service Recruitment Committee and I am very sorry to say that most of the recommendations are highly prejudicial to the interests of the public in general and to the interests of the minor communities in particular. As there was no member from any of the unrepresented minor communities in the committee, it was feared that their claims would not be cared and their interests would be ignored and when the committee published its

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report it is seen that their fears were not without foundation. Sir, I oppose the principles, the very foundation, on which the whole fabric of the recommendations of the report is based.

The principle of communal representation on population basis is very obnoxious on the very face of it. It means that a man belonging to a community which is numerically strong will have preference over a man belonging to a minor community. To be born in a particular community is not left to the choice of the individual. Therefore to punish a man by ignoring his claims to enter the public service for the reason of his birth in a minor community is most unjust and inhuman.

MR C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN : A point of order, Sir. The member is reading his speech.

CHAIRMAN : May I know whether the member is reading from a manuscript?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD : No I am looking at a note which I have taken.

In calculating the numerical strength of a community the whole population is taken into consideration. It includes the number of criminals in the Jail, beggars in the street and wagabonds in the community and to give appointment to a community which consists of the largest number of criminals and wagabonds is really most unjust.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI : May I know which is that community ?

CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Let the member sit down before the question is put.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI : May I know which is that community that is solely represented by criminals ?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD : I am not referring to any particular community. But the largest community may contain the largest number of criminals also.

MR. M. GOVINDAN : Is it the member's opinion that the recommendation of the committee is that population should be the basis for rotation in the matter of recruitment to ministerial service and executive service?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD : Population should never be the basis.

MR. M. GOVINDAN : In fixing the rotation for executive and ministerial service, English literacy, Vernacular literacy and population have been considered. Is it not so ?

CHAIRMAN : Order, order. If the member wants to put a question he may put the question. It is not open to the member to give the answer to the very question put by the member.

MR. M. GOVINDAN : The answer is ending with an interrogation.

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MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: Is it just to entertain a man in the public service simply because there are a number of criminals and wagabonds in his community? Sir, I have very often heard it stated even by advocates of communalism that no special privilege or preference should be given to any individual simply because he belongs to a particular caste. There is some meaning in that. But I wonder how they ignored the question that if no special privilege is to be given to a particular caste why should preference be given to a particular community. I am unable to understand that. If we accept the principle of communal representation on population basis, the claims of the unrepresented minor communities would be ignored. To illustrate my point I shall take the condition of the Namputiris. Sir, Namputiris though numerically small, occupy a unique position in the State. They have got a glorious history, they were the leaders of thought, makers of literature and guardians of religion, but unfortunately due to some social conditions their number did not swell by leaps and bounds. The population of the Namputiri in the State is only 10,000 and the proportion is as 1 is to 500 and if we accept the principle of population basis for public service it would mean that one Namputiri will have a chance of entering the public service only after 500 other persons are entertained. Even for this in some cases centuries and *yugas* may be necessary. Sir, in the matter of appointments population of a community should never be the sole criterion. Character and capacity of the individual should be the guiding principle. Along with character and capacity of the individual the general culture, the social status and the historical importance of the community to which he belongs should also be taken into consideration.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: What does the member mean by social status?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: Its importance in the State and the contribution it has made to the general advancement of the country.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: I do not understand even after the explanation given by the member.

CHAIRMAN: The member has put a question and the member in possession of the House has answered it. If the member has not understood, it is open to him to put another question to clarify the issue.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: I am sorry to submit that what the member has said is not an answer to my question.

CHAIRMAN: All right.

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: If any other principle except that of population is accepted I am sure that almost all the minor communities will be safe. I am sure that if competitive examination is instituted no minor community would suffer badly. But I

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am not unaware of the fact that if the principle of competitive examination is accepted some of the backward communities would be at a disadvantage. To satisfy them some 50 per cent of the appointments may be made by nomination and the remaining 50 may be made by competitive examination. In the report only 10 per cent. is set apart for competitive examination. Therefore in the name of all minor communities, especially the unrepresented minor communities, I request the Government not to accept the recommendations of the committee in this respect.

Before concluding I may say that if the Government accept the principle of population as the basis for public service, the only choice left for the minor communities would be either to ignore the public service, for which they are not prepared, or to convert themselves into some other major community, to which I hope, Government would not induce them.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: Is the member aware that there are other communities clubbed along with the Malayala Brahmin community for the purpose of representation?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: Yes, I know they are classed with Vellalas and other communities.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: Is the member aware of the population of that group?

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: I know that Namputiries are classed along with Vellala, Kshatriya and other communities.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I rise to a point of order. I would like to know whether the member could impart his knowledge rather than put a question.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: I am asking only for information. I ask whether the member is aware of the communities clubbed along with Malayala Brahmins and my next question was what is the population of that group.

MR. K. N. KESAVAN NAMPUTIRIPAD: The strength of that group is 49,000. That includes Vellala, Malayala Brahmin, Ambalavasi, Elayathu, Samanthan and a few others.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: Sir, in rising to speak on this motion before the House, that is the demand, I have to confine my observation to the recommendations of the Public Service Recruitment Committee. In doing so I approach the subject with great anxiety because unlike the honourable member Mr. M. N. Paramesvaran Pillai who was not at all particular whether the suggestions he was placing before the House were "thrownout or not"—Isuppose I am quoting his expression-I do so in an attitude of great anxiety because I think this is a very important matter which ought to engage the serious consideration of Government. I was under the impression from a question put by Mr. Piraviperumal Pillai in this House that elsewhere criticism was considered on the Government side to be "bewildering." But I wa

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encouraged to hope that something may come out of it because in this House from the same quarters we had a different pronouncement. What was said was, I am quoting the words of the Chief Secretary, that the pronouncement in the report of the Public Service Committee was weighty and the consideration bestowed careful. Both "weighty" and "careful" are the words employed by him.

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: A point of order. I think the Chief Secretary said "valuable".

MR. M. GOVINDAN: If my friend had contradicted me by saying that these words were not employed it would have been a point. But my friend said he used the word "valuable". I also say he said "valuable" also.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Nominated*): The expression used was "mature consideration".

MR. M. GOVINDAN: That is another expression. Anyhow all our memories put together point to the conclusion that Government takes this report seriously and it is likely that the recommendations may be accepted.

With regard to the mutual conflicting notes in the report and all the rest of it pointed out by my friend on this side of the House, all that I have to say is that all are agreed so far as the rotation is concerned. When it came to the reservation of a certain percentage irrespective of the rotation for those who stood first in a competitive examination certain members wanted 25 per cent. and the others would not give any percentage for them. Mr. Kunjithomman, a member of the committee suggested 5 per cent.

An agreement was reached that 10 per cent. should be fixed and the rest may be filled by rotation fixed by the committee. In this connection, I may say that I was also a member of that committee. There was much anxious consideration bestowed and there was much discussion. At first one set of members were for determing the rotation on population basis. Another set wanted literacy to be made the basis and another set English literacy. What was done in the end was that a sort of compromise was reached. We put population, English literacy and Vernacular literacy together and arrived at a formula as an index of the *importance* of the community. I may state here that it was admitted by the Government in its previous declarations that although numerical importance by itself will not be the criterion for judging the share of appointments that may be due to a community the *importance* of the community may be taken into consideration. Then the question for the solution of the committee was what is *importance* as distinguished from pure numbers. We translated it into this. *Importance* means numerical strength, Vernacular literacy and English literacy. That was one solution. My friend Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai who spoke first criticised the recommendations as

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conflicting. I submit that it is only a destructive criticism without giving a constructive suggestion as to the manner in which this question can be solved. Everybody on this side of the House agreed that there was much communal acrimony and much fight over the distribution of appointments. How to solve it was the question. The only solution acceptable to all sides that could be given in answer to the question of reference by Government so as to satisfy the complaints of these communities without sacrificing efficiency was by fixing some definite share of appointments for each community and by prescribing a test through which a person has to pass. The present test was the minimum educational qualification. The test the committee has proposed is a competati test besides the minimum educational qualification. We are not satisfied with the minimum educational qualification which alone now exists. We prescribed a competitive test so that we may choose the best from each community. Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai pointed out that it must be an open competition and then only the examination will be free from private influence. I say, that this examination is as much open as any other. In answer to an interpellation he said that we must have the best men. By all means we may have them. Let the commission choose the best men. Let all the students who pass be ranged in the order in which they pass Let us not pluck anybody. The qualification for admission to the competition is the passing of examination which is now prescribed as the minimum qualification for admission to the service. Let a list be prepared of all who appeared. The 10 per cent. ear-marked may be kept out of rotation and the rest may go by rotation. We shall, by the operation of that rule be getting the best men of each community possessing the minimum educational qualification for the posts. In this connection, I have to point out that the recommendation of the committee on this point is not with reference to all appointments. Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai said that only the second chapter deserves any consideration. I think he was omitting many chapters in the report and in doing so failed to grasp the scope of the recommendation in the second chapter, because the second chapter can be understood only by reading the other chapters also. The second chapter prescribes the rotation. But what is the scope of this rotation ? It is mainly only for clerical appointments. It should not be supposed that all the appointments are to be distributed according to the rotation. That is not the recommendation of the committee. The recommendation of the committee is that in the ministerial posts and in certain executive posts such as the Proverthicars,this policy may be followed. It is not for every big appointment that this is meant. Where direct recruitment is in force and where Government directly appoint candidates from fresh applicants this principle will be followed. Most of such appointments carry rupees 15 or thereabout. Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai's observations will show that he was not against such a procedure. All that is said was that in executive and administrative posts the best men must be taken. Most of the executive and administrative posts will not come within the

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rules therein prescribed. Judicial Department is entirely excluded except the clerical portion of it. Judicial service is not to be subject to this rotation. Similarly the medical service, the P. W. D. service are not included in this rotation. When it is so, I ask where is the hardship, and where is the deterioration of service. It will only add to the efficiency because hitherto minimum educational qualification was the only test and hereafter there will be included minimum educational qualification and a competition on an eliminative basis.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know from the member whether he recommends medical examination for the executive officers?

MR. M. GOVINDAN: I shall be very glad to do so. I always like very healthy persons to be in office as they will be able to turn out better work.

I have pointed out the scope of these recommendations just to show that there is nothing alarming in the recommendations. My friends who are against all communalism are angry with me for being a rank communalist in my dissenting note. I have to state one thing. That this is a country where communal cleavages exist will be admitted by all people. That certain communities are suffering from a handicap and that they were not admitted to the public service of the State will not be denied by any man who studies the condition of this country. I will give my own experience. 38 years ago after graduating I put in an application for a copyist's place in the Judicial Department. I am free to confess that I was told that the birth in my community was an objection to my being appointed in that department. My nephew applied for admission to a class in the Attingal school. He was told that the members of his community were not eligible for admission to that school. My father-in-law applied for a clerk's post after graduating. He was told that he could not be admitted into the Travancore service. He gave up the attempt here and went outside. He rose to be Deputy Collector elsewhere and he was an honoured member of the Provincial Civil Service.

MR. KATTIYATTU SIVARAMA PANICKAR (*Vaikam* cum *Shertalai*): When he was refused even a clerk's post, may I know from the member, as what he retired?

MR. M. GOVINDAN: Sir. I entered judicial service later but I had to fight every inch of my way into it. When certain communities have been suffering under disabilities and when they have had to fight every inch of their way for getting admission to schools and public service, how can they be found to be advanced in education. The advantages of education have been withheld from them. When they ask for a little concession, a little reservation, they are called rank communalists. I submit that this is a very hard thing. It is not recognising their disabilities. When they ask for an appointment or two

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they are put down as narrow communalists, whatever may be the meaning that politicians may attach to communalism. Mr. K P. Nilakanta Pillai said that it is with very great disgust that he approached the question. Is it so disgusting? To borrow an illustration from Mr. Kunjithomman, when the minor member of a family, at a tea table, is not able to reach the biscuits, will the adults who sit with him leave him to himself? Will they not feel pity and give a biscuit into his hands and show a little consideration to him? I am now engaged outside this House as the President of a Harijan Sevaksangham. I have to do some social work of up-lift. My friends who are associated with me in that work say I am a rank communalist. When I ask for special help for Harijans am I a rank communalist? Recognising that Harijans are disabled, we plead that special treatment should be accorded to them, and hostel arrangements made for them. It is not said that that is communalism but, this is communalism.

I cannot understand, Sir, how such communalism can be characterised as anything bad. All that I say is that I am in full sympathy with the communities, which are inadequately represented in public service, when they put forth their legitimate claims for their due share of representation in public service. If, for showing such sympathy I am going to be called a 'rank communalist' I shall only feel proud to be so styled.

I was supporting so far the report of the committee with regard to the communal rotation that they have suggested I have already submitted that the rotation was based on three principles and that the communities were classified according to their "importance" as has been accepted by the Government. The 10 per cent. reservation which I referred to was arrived at by a sort of common understanding.

As regards the Public Service Commission, there was some little difference of opinion with regard to its strength and constitution. I suppose the necessity for a commission will be admitted on all hands; because it will be such a terrible task for the heads of departments to apply the rules laid down by Government in regard to recruitment, as a result of the report of the Public Service Committee. They cannot be expected to do this work also along with their usual responsible heavy duties. It will be of real help to them if there is some other full time agency for this work.

MR. M N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I ask whether such full-time officer, now suggested by the member, will not be a rank communalist?

CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Mr. Govindan has to sit down when a question is sought to be put to him.

MR. M. GOVINDAN: The question was put from behind, Sir: I could not see him.

I cannot agree with the suggestion that everybody will be a rank communalist. My friend has been saying that even the appointments made by the Honourable High Court are not free from reproach in this respect. Sir if we are going to distrust everybody, how are we to

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transact business in this world ? We will have to trust somebody or other. (*Mr. M. N. Parameswaran Pillai. Hear, hear*). We have to expect that one of our best men, irrespective of his community, will be appointed as the President of the proposed Public Service Commission. There have been many among us who have held responsible appointments under Government without giving room for any complaint of communal partiality.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI : What does the member think of the suggestion by the President of the committee that a foreigner must be appointed as President of the proposed Public Service Commission ?

MR. M. GOVINDAN : I am against it. My impression is that we have suitable men in our own country. Any responsible Government officer may be appointed as President of the Public Service Commission ; and he may be helped by five non-official members. That is what the committee has recommended. My submission now is that, in this respect, the recommendation of the majority of the committee must be accepted, and not the recommendation of the minority. Sir, the minority includes very influential gentlemen like the present Chief Secretary and I am afraid that their recommendation may be accepted by Government in preference to that of the majority.

CHAIRMAN : Does the member suggest that the present Chief Secretary was, as member of the Public Service Recruitment Committee, holding the position of Chief Secretary to Government also ?

MR. M. GOVINDAN : I beg your pardon, Sir. I say Dr. Kunjan Pillai who was member of the committee and who to-day happens to be the Chief Secretary to Government.

We are really afraid, Sir, that in preference to the opinion of the majority, the opinion of the minority may prevail with the Government. Considering the conditions obtaining in Travancore, it would be most unfortunate if that is done. I should certainly oppose the majority suggestion for five members to assist the Commissioner if they were to be paid large sums of money and appointed as full-time members. If that is the idea three should be sufficient. But the five members proposed are non-officials who need be paid only allowance for travelling and actual sittings. Considering Travancore conditions five is the minimum for commanding public confidence since there are some very important communities which have to be represented on the Commission in order that the public may rest content that their interests would be safe in the hands of the Commission.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Nominated*) : May I know the number of communities to be represented on the Commission ?

MR. M. GOVINDAN : We have a large number of communities in the State, and it is certainly not possible for every one of them to be represented on the Commission. According to me all the Christians together must have two representatives on the Commission. There

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must also be one caste Hindu, one non-caste Hindu and one Mussalman making up five in all. I am not able to think of a smaller number for this purpose.

MR. C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Has the member considered the suggestion of having one officer doing the work of the proposed Public Service Commission? Will that not serve the purpose?

MR. M. GOVINDAN: The purpose would be better served by adopting my suggestion, but certainly the other is more economical. After all, Sir, even according to my suggestion it will only be one functionary, the Commissioner, that will be functioning throughout. The Commission will do a sort of supervising work, meet once in two or three months, see what has been done, lay down principles to be followed and prepare the first rotation list—all this with the conjunction of the President. We have got experience of so many committees and I do not think there will be any difficulty in transacting business with five members in this Commission alone. Five is certainly not an unwieldy number. In Mysore they have thirteen. That is an unfortunate number (*Laughter.*) I am not for it. But if Mysore can have thirteen, certainly five is not a large number for us.

There is only one topic more on which I want to address this House, namely, about the backward and depressed classes. Although I have taken it up last I consider it most important. Members of this House would have heard of Vontroil's Book on Iceland. That book contains a separate chapter headed 'Snakes in Iceland'. There is only one sentence in that Chapter, namely, "There are no Snakes in Iceland" Similarly, in this report the treatment of the position of the backward and depressed classes is very meagre, although there was a long discussion in the committee as to who were the backward community. Dr. Kunjan Pillai suggested 31 per mille—and not per mile as some newspaper put it (*Laughter*)—was the average male English literacy. Mr. Govindan suggested that 15 per cent. literacy may be adopted as a sort of half-way house for deciding whether a community is backward in point of education or not. Mr. Govindan's suggestion was accepted by the majority. That is how the matter stands. What I now submit in regard to this question is this. A definition of backward and depressed classes was attempted with a view to see whether they had to be given any concession in the matter of recruitment to public service. And the only concession that has been given to them is the raising of the minimum age-limit for admission to service from 25 to 28 in the case of the backward classes alone. That is the only concession that has been recommended by the committee. So far as the depressed and backward communities are concerned many more concessions have been given them by the Mysore committee.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI: Can the member assure the House that the Miller Committee Report is now being followed in Mysore?

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MR. M. GOVINDAN : Till about a few months ago I know it was being followed there. I do not know what is exactly happening now. Perhaps my friend is in possession of up to date information on the matter ; and I would certainly be happy to get such information from him. I know this much. The Mysore Government adopted the recommendations of the Miller Committee ; and that committee recommended several concessions in favour of the backward and depressed classes.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI : Has the member made any suggestion about this matter in his dissenting minute ?

MR. M. GOVINDAN : I do not exactly remember. I must have said something.

At present, Sir, the age-limit for entry into Government service is 25, and the committee has recommended that this may be raised to 28 in the case of the backward and depressed classes. Sir, where is the necessity for fixing it so low as 25 even in the case of the advanced communities ? I know of several instances in which even Nayars and Brahmins have been running about for some acting job or other just for a few days merely to escape this rule. That shows that there is a general feeling that this age-limit is very low. Why not, I ask, increase it to 28 in the case of all communities? 28 plus 25 makes up 53 so that there are two years more left, before retirement, for the officer to fall ill (*Laughter*) or to take extraordinary leave That I think is quite enough. The proper minimum age-limit seems to me to be 28 for all classes of people.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI : Has the member any objection to raising it to 30 ?

MR. M. GOVINDAN : Thirty plus twenty-five makes fifty five, and the officer will have to retire immediately without any time for extraordinary leave for the marriage of his daughter, for instance. (*Laughter*)

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI : Sir, the problem of the recruitment to public service appears to be the most important and vital problem in our State, while problems such as the industrial and economic re-generation of the country, the amelioration and preservation of the condition of the ryots are being relegated to the back-ground and given a place of secondary importance.

Sir, at this time of acute economic depression, when the tax-payer is getting into insolvency, when the trader and the industrialist are becoming bankrupts, it is painful that we the accredited representatives are sitting here devising means and modes of making a division of their precious money. Anyhow as a consequence of the serious agitation, the Government have now brought forth the present report, and we are to express our opinion on its various recommendations. Though the report contains elaborate arguments and lengthy quotations from all

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available reports outside the State, and volumes of dissenting minutes, the sum and substance of what the committee have achieved is the grouping of the various communities and allotment of shares with mathematical accuracy and proportion. This result, I beg to submit, could have been very easily achieved by entrusting the whole work to a responsible and an experienced officer of the State that could have saved a lot of time and energy, and above all, the precious money of the tax-payer.

Now coming to the various recommendations contained in the report we find that the first and foremost of them is the recommendation relating to communal representation. I accept the principle of communal representation, but I do not accept the principle of communal representation based on the numerical strength. Now at page 7 of the report we find a statement expressed that public services are maintained at the cost of the tax-payer. From this, it is clear that representation must go side by side with taxation. Now the principle of representation is the legitimate right primarily of the tax-payer more than of anybody else. It is the principle of representation because of taxation that is strictly applied in the matter of constituting responsible bodies like our legislatures. Even in the case of other representative institutions we find the same principle of representation based on taxation adhered to. In fact till a system of adult franchise is introduced this principle of representation based on taxation cannot be deviated. My submission is that this principle namely, representation on the ground of taxation, that is, based on taxation, is the proper and right principle to be adopted.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI : May I know whether the member is advocating the principle of representation for legislature or for executive posts ?

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI : For both, I am now referring to the legislature to show how the principle should be applied in the matter of constituting the legislature. I will show how representation based on taxation is the right and proper principle to be adopted so long as the existing state of things continues. The aim and function of the State excepting the extreme type of Bolshevik State is the protection of property and proprietory rights. I beg to submit in a body like the legislature if representation is based on an adult franchise, the land-holders will have a poor representation.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI : Is the member in order in referring to this.

CHAIRMAN : Is it the point of the member that representation in public service should be based on the tax paid by each community ? I myself do not see any relevancy for that.

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI : That is my point. I was only referring to legislative bodies to show that they are constituted on the basis of taxation. Now I wish to point out that the fact of representation in legislative bodies is based on the principle of taxation. This

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is a sound principle to be adopted for the following reason As I said, the function of the State, the important function as I call it, is the protection of property and proprietory rights. In a system of adult franchise, when the principle of representation based on taxation is deviated from, then we will not get a body which is properly representing, especially the land-holders or the proprietory classes. The consequence will be that the proprietory or the land-holders class will get a poor representation. The result will be disastrous to the land holders. In this connection I may refer to a fact which took place yesterday when the Edavagai Bill was under discussion. Mr. M. N. Paramesvaran Pillai in his usual vehemence argued that the Chiefs should be deprived of their proprietory rights simply because they happen to be absentee landlords.

CHAIRMAN : I may draw the attention of the member that this point has remote relevancy to the subject under discussion.

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI : If the Chair will permit me I will show how it is relevant.

If the land-owners are properly represented their interests will not be jeopardised. Otherwise we will get representatives who will not look to the interests of the proprietor, who will not look into the interests of the property. Similarly if the same principle of representation on account of taxation is applied to recruiting men in the public service, I think we will get men who have more stake in the country, men who have more interest in the welfare of the tax-payer. The posts in public service are places of power and a tax-payer has to depend much on the public service. This is what the Miller Committee observed. I quote page 163 of the report :

> " Under the present system of Government, the officers of Government in the higher grades of service have necessarily much influence in shaping the policy of the administration."

So only on this principle namely, the principle of representation on the ground of taxation, we will get men who have more stake in the country, men who have interest in the welfare of the people and property and above all in the well-being of the State as a whole.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI ay I know whether the member is an authority for starting a doctrine on representation by taxation ?

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI: I have formed this opinion based on common sense and experience, so far as I have gained from the working of several institutions. I do not rely upon any authority for this doctrine.

May I ask, Sir, what is the principle adopted in recruiting directors and members of management boards in the case of companies. There we find the same principle adopted. Members who contribute a greater share are recruited as directors and managers in managing boards.

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Thus on principle and as a matter of right, those who contribute the greatest share to the coffers of the State ought to get the greatest representation. That is my suggestion with regard to the principle of communal representation.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: Is there not a difference between the taxes collected by Government and the shares taken by the share-holders of the company?

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI: Not much. The shares contributed by the members go to form the fund of the company. Similarly the tax goes to the maintenance of the State.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know whether it is not open to the share-holders to withdraw their money from the company?

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI: There is a slight difference in that respect. That has nothing to do with the illustration that I have referred to.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know whether a particular individual could refuse to pay tax to Government?

MR. V. S. ARUMUKHAM PILLAI: He cannot.

My suggestion is, on principle and as a matter of right, communal representation must be on the basis of taxation and not on numerical strength.

Coming to several departments of Government let me first deal with Devaswom. There is a resolution passed by the committee that persons directly recruited to the Devaswom Department should not be transferred to any other department and *vice versa*.

This I beg to submit is curtailing the legitimate rights and privileges of men entering into the public service. This is very unfair. The question of promotion and transfer ought to rest with Government. I am afraid the resolution itself is *ultra vires* in view of the terms of reference. The terms of reference refer to direct recruitment and do not refer either to promotion or to transfer.

Then coming to the Judicial Department the recommendation is made that the members of the bar should be recruited as Munsiffs, Second Judges and High Court Judges. But an exception seems to have been made in the case of District Judges. On what principle that exception is made I am at a loss to understand. Is it because a District Judge's place is more sacred than a High Court Judge's place?

Then, in this connection, I would like to add one more suggestion. Provision is being made regarding the recruitment of District Munsiffs, Judges, etc. from the members of the Bar. Similar provision should also be made with regard to the recruitment of medical men and teachers from private practitioners and private school teachers respectively. The suggestion that I make is fair and reasonable. Then with regard to women I have got one word to say. Women have been denied right of communal representation. Is it because they have gone ahead of

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men in social reform or is it because there is none in the committee to plead their cause vehemently ? I am at a loss to understand. The latter must be the main reason. If communal representation is applied in the case of men, it ought to be applied as a matter of right in the matter of recruiting women also. With these suggestions I close my speech.

MR. G. NARAYANA AIYAR : My humble suggestion so far as recruitment to the public service is concerned is that character and efficiency should the sole tests. Peace and prosperity of the inhabitants of the country depend upon the efficient manner in which the administration is conducted and justice meted out. We have only to see in this connection what nature has taught us. Teaching of nature will be a valuable and safe guide to decide future conduct. Supposing a man is involved in a difficult litigation, though he has got his own relatives as members of the legal profession, he straightaway goes to the best lawyer ignoring the fact whether he belongs to this community or to that community. So also when questions of personal considerations come in we go in only for the best man.

MR. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPI : Sir, I rise to a point of order. Whether the official members can transact business relating to official matters and dispose of fi es, etc. in the House or they should attend to the speeches of the members ? Is it not discourteous ?

CHAIRMAN : Let me know what the Law Member has to say with regard to the point of order ?

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*) : It is usual for the official members to take down notes of the speechs. I have nothing more to add.

CHAIRMAN : It is not open to official members to transact official business in the House and go through departmental files. If they are taking notes or marking important points which have been brought to light during the course of the discussion on the motion before the House, that is permissible. I may request the Secretary to see that peons do not take big trays of papers and load the table in front of the House.

MR. G. NARAYANA AIYAR : Again suppose a man is affected by a disease. There may be members of his family in that profession qualified to attend on him. Even then what does he do ? He goes to the best man for treatment irrespective of his caste or creed. So also we are not influenced by communal bias when we go in for purchases in the bazaar. Thus natural inclination is that the best ought to be selected in everything. It has to be admitted that the Government are practically yielding to communal representation and gradually accepting it though they have not declared it openly in so many words. The report of the Laws' Delays Commissioner who has submitted his report in 1931 will go to show how the recruitment by communal representation has affected the efficiency of administration. I will read a few lines from

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the report, which may be interesting :

> "The answers to the questionnaire on the subject and mass of evidence recorded therein unmistakably reveal the public feeling that the operation of communal principle in the recruitment of judicial officers has in recent times perceptibly affected the general level of efficiency in the judiciary."

This committee was presided over by a very competent retired Judge of the High Court who has enough of experience of public service. After examining witnesses from different localities and considering the detailed evidence, the Laws' Delays Commissioner has come to the conclusion that the efficiency of the judiciary is bound to deteriorate if the Government accept the principle of communal representation. When there is such a valuable piece of evidence, which was arrived at after a detailed enquiry and when nature teaches us that for everything we should select the best, I cannot understand why we should have communal representation in public service. Sir, so long as there is no party system of Government in Travancore as in British India I cannot understand the necessity for having the communal representation in the public service. In a place where there is party system of Government one community may take undue advantage when it comes to power. So long as there is no party Government, in Travancore there is no necessity for communal representation in service. On this ground also I would submit that the principle of communal representation is not advisable. Public service is not the place for the exhibition of different species of men. The public must have confidence in the administration of justice and confidence in the efficiency of the officers also. If my information is correct when the Madras Government passed an order that communal representation ought to be the test in the matter of appointments, and when the same was communicated to the Judges of the High Court the then Chief Justice seems to have written to the Government that so long as the High court is responsible for the administration of justice they could not accept the principle of communal representation. He further remarked that if the Government are very particular of having this communal representation in the Judicial Department it is better to take away the power of appointment from the High Court and have the judges nominated by the Government themselves. I understand even now notwithstanding the order of the Government they are looking up only to efficiency and character in the matter of selection. When the Madras Government order was not given effect to by such an independent judicial body, I cannot understand why the communal principle should be followed here. (*Mr. P. Padmanabhan Tampi. Hear, hear*). That the communal representation may not be happy or healthy will also be clear from the report of the committee itself. Notwithstanding that our committee was represented by the best and capable men, they could not agree in any of their recommendations. That is sufficient evidence to show that communal representation will not be healthy. Sir, whatever we may say we do not know what the intentions of the Government are about the report. In case the Government accept the principle of communal

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representation what ought to be the manner in which it should be applied. I would like to say a few words in that connection. By that I do not admit that I favour communal representation. What I submit is that if the Government are going to accept the principle of communal representation, such representations ought to be given only for backward communities such as Ezhavas, Mahomedans and such other people. I would suggest that 25 per cent. may be set apart to such people if the Government are very particular in having communal representation. So far as other communities are concerned there is sufficient number of competent men available and as such an open competitive examination should be held to select the best men. At least in the Department of Education and in the Department of Administration of Justice character and efficiency should be the sole tests. In these departments I submit, communal representation should not be introduced. So far as the Education Department is concerned the Director of public Instruction who was in the committee has given valid reasons why communal representation should not be given effect to. It is in colleges and schools that children are educated and trained. Unless they get the best education and training possible from the best men how can we expect them to work and behave properly when they enter life. In that department communal representation should never be accepted. Then I have only to make a few suggestions with regard to the appointment of Munsiffs. With regard to the appointment of Munsiffs they are being generally selected from the High Court Bar. It is admitted that there is a great deal of congestion in the High Court itself. If we extend the principle of recruitment of Munsiffs to vakils practising in the mofussil courts that will to some extent relieve the congestion of the High Court. I submit that those who are practising in the mofussil courts will have more convenience and opportunities to come in close touch with the clientele and will not be inferior to those practising in the High Court. There is also a disparity in the age-limit fixed for recruitment from the Bar and the department. 35 is the age-limit fixed for recruitment from the Bar and 40 from the department. I think it is not reasonable to fix a different age-limit for men to be recruited from the Bar. If the Munsiffs can be recruited from the staff at the age of 40 when they have forgotten and lost touch with the subject of law, why not vakils recruited from the Bar should also be given the same age-limit.

Mr. K. K. THOMAS: Sir, I have been noting that it is very difficult, almost impossible, to reach perfection in any matter. The report before us has been the result of very serious attempt by men competent to tackle this difficult question of representation of the several communities in the service. It contains several very valuable suggestions and generally, I may say, the recommendations made are acceptable. But, there are certain matters on which there may be vital differences of opinion. There are several things which are the result of deep deliberation and consideration of the difficulties that

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present Travancoreans. For the past so many years, as education advanced, people have been clamouring day in and day out for communal representation and the discussion has been with regard to the claims of individual communities for entering into the public service. So early as 1927, the Dewan of the State, late Mr. Watts, said that "A rigid mathematical formula yielding precision and exactitude in proportion to community and appointment is one of the best instruments for the destruction of peace and happiness in the country." That has been also the pronouncement made by one of our previous Dewans Mr. Raghaviah before this House.

The following general principles have been laid down by Government:—

"(1) No one will be eligible for admission to the public service on the ground that he belongs to a particular community.

(2) Equal opportunities will be given to all communities for admission to the service.

(3) Other things being equal, preference will be given to unrepresented and poorly represented communities.

(4) It is out of the question to make provision for the representation of every individual community but only of certain well defined unitary groups.

(5) Even in the case of these groups representation in the service will be based more on the number of qualified hands available and willing to take up appointments in each group than on its numerical strength.

(6) Communal considerations can prevail only in the case of initial appointments, whether permanent or temporary, and not of promotions."

Government accordingly accepted the general principle, the general and wholesome principle of giving equal opportunities to all communities for admission to the public service, and said that no man would be debarred, by virtue of his birth alone, from serving the country. If Government had stopped here, there would have been no difficulty. So far, we accept that but, later on, when the pressure increased, Government naturally yielded, and the result was that a G. O. was issued by Government dividing the population into certain main communities. This is given in the report as (1) Brahmins, (2) Nairs, (3) other caste-Hindus, (4) Christians, (5) Ezhavas, (6) Mohammadans and (7) other classes. If the division of communities had been confined to these seven groups some appreciable result on workable basis would have been obtained. But later on when the pressure is increased we are again subdividing into four special groups consisting of about 15 subdivisions, and use it naturally to a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*. We come to 13 important communities with several minor communities for special classification. Such a sort of development, as one may say, has

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reduced the principle of communal representation to a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*. But we cannot be unmindful of the fact, as Mr. Govindan said, that there is a sort of demand for one's own respect, a great deal of feeling that a man belonging to one community should not be denied the opportunity of serving the country in the public service. If the communities had been divided into four or five main groups, as in Madras, it would have been possible to work out the scheme. But, now we find that the whole State has been divided into 30 or 40 groups and still there is the possibility for further division. So any recommendation which you make for a proper representation of these sub-communities in the public service on a population basis will become impossible of achievement. Even the report shows how difficult their task was that, even after the deliberation of several competent and experienced men, who were representatives of each of the communities, they were unable to find any solution and the result was the dissenting minutes of 7 or 8 members.

Now, taking the report as a whole, there are certain points which have to be accepted, while there are certain others which have to be thrown out. The main objection that I find is the recommendation to distribute appointments in the inferior service on a population basis to all communities, irrespective of the fact whether these communities are literate or illiterate. I think, for recruitment to public service, qualification and merit should be given the first and foremost importance. When the communities are only divided into 4 or 5 groups it won't be difficult to find qualified men, men able to do substantial work and give us the value of their work for the emoluments paid to them. The reservation of appointments on population basis alone is quite difficult and impracticable. Even though the committee are aware of this, they have recommended it only for subordinate services. I think that every man may not be competent to discharge even the duties attaching to the inferior service. When we want a peon we always go in for one who has some intelligence, some common sense, some cleverness, etc., and so the distribution of even such appointments on population basis alone is not right. Then with regard to other appointments we will again go back to the principles given in para 25 of the report. If these six rules are strictly adhered to, I think, we have got what we want in the matter of recruitment to the public service, and nobody will be debarred from entering the service simply because he belongs to a particular community. These rules may be regarded as general rules, framed by Government for recruitment to the public service, and the Public Service Commission, if appointed, or the Government officers who are now making appointments, may be asked to adhere strictly to them and the return of appointments carefully scrutinised and checked by the Secretariat. Thus I think much of the trouble before us may be avoided.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI: May I know from the member whether he is not for distribution of appointments on population basis?

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MR. K. K. THOMAS: I am not for distribution of appointments on population basis alone. So far as I am aware, it pleases none of the communites, Christians are not pleased, Nayars are not pleased, Mahomedans are not pleased and the depressed classes are not pleased. Then why should we go into this division? That is the important position. Now most of the trouble arose because of the impression generally gaining outside that appointments are monopolised by one community.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: May I know from the member whether he is agreeable to divide the Christian community into two main groups, Syrians and non-Syrians?

MR. K. K. THOMAS: It is not a question of my satisfaction, Sir. I have to come to that point. Now with regard to my own community it is true there are a number of divisions, both among Syrians and non-Syrians. They may be divided into Syrians and non-Syrians. It is a racial division and not a division of religion or religious persuasion. I may be a Catholic to-day and to-morrow a Jacobite; because a change does not mean much to me. While as a Syrian, one may say that the Syrian Christians may be classed together just as Nayars are classed together, and in the case of Roman Catholics—I do not know if they will agree to such a grouping, but it is not the question of their agreeing—(Hear, hear) Syrian Catholics and non-Catholics may be clubbed together as one division. It is just so easy. But it is not so easy with regard to other religious denominations as it is difficult to change the mode of the worship. The depressed classes may be separately grouped.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: So far as Hindus are concerned, may I know from the member whether he will be satisfied with two groups, caste-Hindus and non-caste Hindus, instead of the various groups?

MR. K. K. THOMAS: I think Ezhavas are to be classed separately.

I know that if this grouping be adopted, with regard to other communities as well, the number of communities may be reduced and thus instead of 30 or 40 communities we will be able to have a smaller number, 4 or 5. The success of the Justice Party in Madras was mainly due to the fact that these sub-communities were not taken into account. It is only a large division of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. They did not go to specially classify Chetties, Naidus, Kammalas, etc. If they had followed that, their result would have been a failure.

Now with regard to the recommendations for recruitment to the Revenue Department, I think that some direct recruitment of Proverthicars at least have to be made to satisfy the claims of the unrepresented communities in the department. The trouble arose mostly on account of the impression that the whole service were monopolised by one particular community. It is rather unfair to the Nayars to say that out

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of 21,000 appointments in the Public Service, the Nayar gets 12,000, *i. e.* more than half. The vast proportion is in the lower ranks and in the inferior service which alone comes to about 5,000. So, I think, if 50 per cent. of vacancies in the grade of Proverthicars be filled by direct recruitment from the unrepresented communities this trouble may be avoided and each of the unrepresented communities may be given sufficient representation.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI: What about the total amount of salaries?

MR. K. K. THOMAS: I have not calculated, but it will be less in proportion. I think the Proverthikars' salaries may not be so much as that of the higher officers. In the lower grades of service the Nayars are too many, much more than in the higher grades and it is quite justifiable that the unrepresented communities should be given a chance.

Now with regard to the Public Service Commission the report makes a representation that five non-officials and one official may be appointed in the Public Service Commission. I think the criticisms made by Mr. Paramesvaran Pillai regarding the constitution of the Commission is very relevant. It must consist of very decent people who have had practical experience in the world and who are able to exercise their powers of discretion correctly, so that no community may throw the blame that they were not above board, that they were partial to any particular community. To avoid that, I think, it may be even better to give the responsibility to one single person, provided that we make a proper selection of the individual. I am not particular whether he be a Travancorean or an outsider, but he must be a man above suspicion.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI: Does the member mean that he has no confidence in a Travancorean for this post?

MR. K. K. THOMAS: No. I do not mean that. I only suggest that if you can find a competent Travancorean, even if he be a retired man whom all the communities will be able to appreciate that man must be chosen for this post. Otherwise, it would be better to go in for an outsider.

With regard to appointments in aided schools some criticisms have been levelled by some of the members against the managers of aided institutions.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: May I know by whom, Sir?

MR. K. K. THOMAS: I think Mr. M. N. Paramesvaran Pillai himself.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: I don't think I said anything.

MR. K. K. THOMAS: Then it may be, Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai.

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It is seen from the report of the committee that there are certain aided schools where all communities are not properly treated and where instruction is not of the right sort. But I must say that there are certain schools where the instruction imparted is much better than that imparted in Government schools.

When we come to English Schools we find that there are many aided schools under the management of Christians and other classes. The instruction given in those schools compares very favourably or even better than the instruction given in Government managed schools. Government institutions may be models, but the examination results show that several of the institutions under private managements are more efficient than Government institutions. All these aided institutions do not depend entirely on the Government grant. It is true that Government spend about 10 lakhs of rupees by way of subsidy. But this fact should not induce Government to meddle with the internal management of private institutions. The managements, in several cases I know, spend large sums of money on the development of their institutions and they do take in people of other communities also. I know in the Kottayam C. M. S. College, in the Alwaye College, in the M. D. and M. T. Seminary High schools, there are members on the staff who do not belong to any of the communities that are managing these schools. So, a wholesale condemnation of these aided institutions is not correct and Government should think twice before they put in their fingers into the private managements of several of these schools. Unless a very strong case is made out of mismanagement corruption and rank communalism it would not be right or proper for any Government to interfere in any of the private schools. With these few words I commend most of the resolutions embodied in this report.

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM : അനേകലക്ഷം ആളുകളുടെ അനേകകാലത്തെ ആഗ്രഹത്തിന്റെയും അപേക്ഷയുടേയും പ്രക്ഷോഭണത്തിന്റേയും ഫലമായി ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നും പബ്ലിക്കുസർവീസ് കമ്മിറ്റി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി. ഈ കമ്മറ്റി മൂന്നുമാസത്തിനകം ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ടു സമർപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നു നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ കമ്മറ്റിയുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടു സമർപ്പിക്കുവാൻ രണ്ടുകൊല്ലകാലത്തോളം താമസിക്കേണ്ടിവന്നു. റിപ്പോർട്ടു പൂർത്തിയായതിനുശേഷവും ഏറെ മാസക്കാലം കഴിഞ്ഞാണ് പുറത്തു വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസ് ഒരുകാലത്തു വിദേശികളായ തമിഴ് ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ അധീനതയിൽ ഇരുന്നിരുന്നു. അവർ അതു ചിരകാലം അട്ടിപ്പേരായി വെച്ചിരുന്നു. മലയാളികളായ നാം ഏവരും ഏകയോഗക്ഷേമമായി അതിനെപ്പറ്റി പ്രക്ഷോഭിക്കുകയും നിവേദനം സമർപ്പിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതിന്റെ ഫലമായി മലയാളിമെമ്മോറിയൽഉണ്ടായി. അതിന്റെ മൂന്നാമത്തെ പേരുകാരൻ ഒരു കൃസ്ത്യാനിയെന്ന സംഗതി ഞാൻ ഇപ്പോഴും കാർമ്മികുന്നുണ്ട്. അതിന്റെഫലമായി ചിരകാലം സ്വായത്തമായി അട്ടിപ്പേരായി വെച്ചിരു

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[Mr. J. John Kattakayam.]

ന്ന നായന്മാരും നായന്മാരോടൊപ്പം മറ്റുസവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുംപബ്ലിക്ക സർവീസിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു. ഇവിടെ ചിരകാലമായി നടമാടിയിരുന്നബ്രാഹ്മ ണമേധാവിത്വത്തെ തട്ടിത്തകർത്തു. ഇതുമൂലമായിട്ടോ അഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കും അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കും പബ്ലിക്കുസർവീസിൽ ന്യായമായ പ്രവേശനം സിദ്ധിച്ചിരുന്നില്ല. രാജ്യത്തെ നട്ടെല്ലായ റവന്യൂഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലെ പ്രവേശനത്തിനു പലതരത്തിലുള്ള ഒഴികഴിവു് അധികൃതന്മാർ പറഞ്ഞു തുടങ്ങി. അതിനുകാരണം ദേവസ്വവും റവന്യൂവും ആയി സംഘടി പ്പിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടാണു്. എന്നാൽ അതിനെ രണ്ടായി വിഭജിക്കണംഎ ന്നുള്ള ഒരു പ്രക്ഷോഭണം അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളും അഹിന്ദുക്കളും കൂടി ഏ കയോഗക്ഷേമമായി പൊരുതതിന്റെ ഫലമായി ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെ ൻറു് റവന്യൂദേവസ്വം ഇങ്ങനെ രണ്ടായി വിഭജിക്കപ്പെട്ടു. എന്നാൽ അങ്ങനെ വിഭജിച്ചു എങ്കിലും നിർബ്ബാധം എല്ലാവർക്കും പ്രവേശനം അ നുവദിച്ചിരുന്നില്ല. ഇതിന്റെ കവാടം എല്ലാവർക്കുമായി തുറന്നുകൊ ടുത്ത നിയമനാധികാരികൾ സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളായിരുന്നതിനാൽ ഇതരവ ർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു് അവർ പ്രവേശനം നൽകിയിരുന്നില്ല. ആകയാൽ അതി ന്റെഫലവും നാമമാത്രമായിത്തീർന്നു. രാജ്യത്തിലെ അൻപതു ശതമാ നം ജനങ്ങളിൽ രണ്ടരശതമാനത്തിനുമാത്രമെ ഉദ്യോഗംകൊടുക്കുവാൻ നമുക്കു സാധിക്കയുള്ളു. പ്രക്ഷോഭകർത്താക്കളുടെ ഹിതാനുസരണം സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം നൽകിയാലും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഉദ്യോഗവഴക്കു് അവസാനിക്കുമെന്നു് എനിക്കു വിശ്വാസമില്ല. ജനസംഖ്യയുടെ തോ തനുസരിച്ചു നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇപ്പോഴും തമിഴ്ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ കൈവശമാ ണു കൂടുതൽ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ഇരിക്കുന്നതു്. അതിനെ കാണാനുള്ള ക ണ്ണു് കൃസ്ത്യാനിക്കില്ല. അവർ പറയുന്ന നായർമേധാവിത്വമാണു് ഇവി ടെ നിലനിൽക്കുന്നതു്. അതിനെ തട്ടിത്തകർക്കണമെന്ന മനസ്സിൽ വല്ല തും വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വല്ലതും പ്രവർത്തിച്ചാലുള്ള ഗുണദോഷനിരൂപണം ഇന്നത്തെ പ്രക്ഷോഭണത്തിൽ മുന്നിട്ടുനിൽക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾക്കു് ഉണ്ടോ എന്നു് എനിക്കു് അജ്ഞാതമായിട്ടാണു് ഇരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ രണ്ടരശതമാ നംആളുകൾക്കുമാത്രം ഉദ്യോഗംകൊടുത്തു് അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടേയുള്ള അൻപതുലക്ഷംജനങ്ങളെ തൃപ്തിപ്പെടുത്താൻ ഇന്നു് ആരുവിചാരിച്ചാ ലും സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഇന്നു് ഇവിടേയുള്ള സകലസമുദായങ്ങളുംകൈ കോർത്തുപിടിച്ചു മുൻപോട്ടുവന്നു ഏകയോഗക്ഷേമമായി പെരുമാറിയാ ലും ഈ ഉദ്യോഗവഴക്കു തീരുന്നതല്ല. തീരണമെങ്കിൽ സർക്കാർ ഉദ്യോഗ

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ത്തിലുള്ള ആകർഷണീയത കുറയ്ക്കണം അല്ലാതെ യാതൊരുമാർഗ്ഗവും ഞാൻ കാണുന്നില്ല.

CHAIRMAN: ചോദ്യം ചോദിക്കുമ്പോൾ മെമ്പർ ഇരിക്കണം.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: സർക്കാർ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനായുള്ള ആകർഷണീയത കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതെങ്ങനെ?

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു മറുപടി പറയാൻ വിഷമമാണ്. എങ്കിലും കഴിയുന്നതും അതിനുള്ള പ്രതാപത്തെ കുറയ്ക്കുക അതായത്, ഇപ്പോൾ സാമ്പത്തികാധഃപതനമായതുകൊണ്ടു കഴിയുന്നിടത്തോളം ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളവും പടിയും കുറയ്ക്കണം.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളം കുറച്ചാൽ അന്ന് യോഗ്യന്മാരായ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ കിട്ടുമെന്നു വിശ്വാസമുണ്ടോ?

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: ഇന്ന് ഉദ്യോഗം കള്ളഷാപ്പു പോലെ ലേലംചെയ്താൽ പിടിക്കാൻ ധാരാളം ആളുകൾ ഉണ്ടല്ലൊ. ഗവണ്മെൻറിലേക്കു ഒരു വലിയ സംഖ്യയും കിട്ടും. അതുകൊണ്ടു ആകർഷണീയത ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനു് ഇന്നത്തെ നിലക്കു ഇവിടെയുണ്ടു്.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ കാര്യം കള്ളുഷാപ്പിനോടാണോ ഉപമിക്കുന്നതു്? (ചിരി)

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: ചോദിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടു് അങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞു എന്നേയുള്ളു. ഇനി നമ്മുടെ ആലോചനയ്ക്കു വിഷയമായിരിക്കുന്ന കമ്മറിറിപ്പോർട്ടു് അതേതരത്തിൽ ചവറുകുട്ടയിലേക്കു തള്ളുന്നതു ഏറ്റവും നല്ലതായിരിക്കും. (Mr. Kochikal P. Balakrishnan Tampi ഹീയർ ഹീയർ). മി. പി. കെ. നാരായണപിള്ള പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ തിരിഞ്ഞുനോക്കാൻ കൊള്ളരുതാത്ത ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ടാണ് അതെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ കമ്മറിയിൽ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുമായി ഒരു ഡസൻ ആളുകൾ ഉണ്ടു്. രണ്ടു ധാരമാരെ പിടിച്ചു് ഇതിൽ ഇട്ടിരുന്നതു് എന്തിനാണെന്നു എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. എന്റെ പല സ്നേഹിതന്മാരോടും ഞാൻ ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി സംസാരിച്ചു. അവരും ഇതുപോലെയാണു പറയുന്നതു്. അവർക്കും ഇതേപ്പറ്റി ശുദ്ധമൂലമായി ഒരു അഭിപ്രായം പറയാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പരായ മി. സി. ഒ. മാധവൻതന്നെയും ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പല ഭാഗത്തോടും യോജിക്കാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്.

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MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN : മി. തയ്യുത കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മൻ ഈ കമ്മറിയിൽ ഒരു അംഗമാണെന്നറിയാമോ?

MR J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM : അറിയാം. അയാൾകാരണമാണ് ഒരു കന്തോലിക്കൻ ജഡ്ജിയായി ഹൈക്കോർട്ടിൽ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നും ഇതുപോലെതന്നെ സമീപകാലത്തു കന്തോലിക്കർക്കു വേതനം കിട്ടുവാൻ കാരണം താനാണെന്നുംമറ്റുമൊക്കെ പറയുന്നുണ്ട്. ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ ആ മനുഷ്യൻ ചെയ്യാത്ത പല സംഗതികളും ചെയ്തു എന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു നടക്കുന്നു എന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവയോഗ്യമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടുംമറും തയ്യുത മി.കുഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മന്റെ പേരു കേൾക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നില്ല. (ചിരി) ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ആളുകൾനിമിത്തമാണ് ഈ പ്രക്ഷോഭണം ഉണ്ടാകാൻതന്നെ കാരണം.

അവശസമുദായങ്ങളായി ഈ കമ്മറിയിലുള്ള സകല മെമ്പറന്മാരും ഈ കമ്മറിറിപ്പോർട്ടിലെ പല ഭാഗങ്ങളോടും യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല. എട്ടൊൻപതു ലക്ഷംവരുന്ന സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളാണ് ഇപ്പോൾ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പബ്ലിക്കുസർവീസു കൈവശം വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. ഇതു കണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു മഹാഭൂരിപക്ഷമുള്ള അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളും അഹിന്ദുക്കളും കൂടിവന്ന് നിങ്ങളെ പിടിച്ചിറക്കി ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കയ്യടക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതരത്തിലാണ് പുറത്തുള്ള പ്രക്ഷോഭണം.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: പുറത്തു് അങ്ങിനെ വല്ല പ്രക്ഷോഭണവും നടക്കുന്നതായി മെമ്പക്കു് അറിയാമോ?

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM : ചിലതൊക്കെ നടക്കുന്നതായും നടന്നിട്ടുള്ളതായും ഞാൻ പത്രങ്ങളിൽ കണ്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വമുള്ള ആളുകൾ മുന്നോട്ടുവന്നിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്നു സംശയമാണ്. പുറത്തുണ്ടാകുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി പറയേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. ഏതായാലും ഇതു ഗവണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയ്ക്കു വിഷയീഭവിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN : ഈ പ്രക്ഷോഭണത്തിന്റെ പ്രസക്തി എത്രമാത്രമുണ്ടെന്നു മെമ്പക്കു ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

CHAIRMAN : The question is not relevant for the discussion. Please proceed.

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM : ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെ രണ്ടുതരമായിട്ടാണ് കമ്മറിറിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ കാണിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതായതു് താഴ്ന്ന

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തരമെന്നും ഉയന്തരമെന്നും. താഴ്ന്നതരത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അതാക്കും കൊടുക്കാമെന്ന ചില നിഷ്കൃഷ്ട വെച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഉയന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു നോക്കുന്നതായാൽ അതിൽ ചില തെറുകളൊക്കെ കാണാം. ഉയന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾം മത്സര പരീക്ഷമൂലം ക്ലിപ്തശതമാനം റിസർവ്വ് ചെയ്യണമെന്നുംമറും കമ്മറി റിപ്പോർട്ട ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിനെപ്പറി നോക്കുന്നപക്ഷം മുൻപുപറഞ്ഞ പ്രക്ഷോഭകാരികളുടെ ഭാഷയിൽതന്നെ പറകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇപ്പോൾം ഉദ്യോഗം ആരു് അട്ടിപ്പേറായിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവൊ അവക്കായി ഇതു് മാറിവെച്ചിരിക്കുകയല്ലെ എന്നു് സംശയം തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. താഴ്ന്നതരം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെ വിഭജിക്കുന്നതിനു ഹിന്ദുക്കൾം, ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾം, മഹമ്മദീയർ എന്നീ പ്രധാനവിഭാഗങ്ങളിലെ ഉപവിഭാഗങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയും മറും പരിഗണിക്കുകയും അവക്കു കിട്ടേണ്ടകാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റിയും മറും നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഉയന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെസംബന്ധിച്ചു് അതിൽ പല വ്യത്യാസങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടു്. അതു ഈ തരത്തിൽ വിഭജിക്കാതെ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾം, മഹമ്മദീയർ, ഹിന്ദുക്കൾം എന്നിങ്ങനെമാത്രമെ വിഭജിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളു. വാസ്തവം പറയുന്നപക്ഷം ഇവിടെയാണു് ചില ഗിൽറ്റു് പ്രയോഗങ്ങൾം അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ തോതുവെച്ചു് നോക്കുമ്പോൾ അവണ്ണഹിന്ദുസമുദായത്തിന്റെ വീതത്തെ സവണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾം കരസ്ഥമാക്കുവാൻ ധാരാളം സാധിക്കും. മറെറാരുശങ്ക ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളെസംബന്ധിച്ചാണു്. ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളിൽ അകത്തോലിക്കർ മാത്രമെ നേരത്തെ പബ്ലിക്കു് സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളു. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള അകത്തോലിക്കർ കത്തോലിക്ക ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ പങ്കുകൂടി കൈവശപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ ഇതൊരു സുഗമമായ മാർഗ്ഗമല്ലയൊ എന്നു ഞാൻ സംശയിക്കുന്നു. കത്തോലിക്കരിൽ കഞ്ഞിത്തൊമ്മൻ ക്രൂട്ടാളികൾം അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട കത്തോലിക്കാ സമുദായം വളരെതാമസിച്ചാണു് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ആരംഭിച്ചതു്. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം മതത്തെ ഹനിക്കുമെന്നുംമറും ശങ്കിച്ചായിരിക്കാം, കത്തോലിക്ക വൈദികമേലധ്യക്ഷന്മാർ കത്തോലിക്കരെ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്പഠനത്തിനു ആദ്യകാലത്തു് അനുവദിച്ചില്ല. അതിന്റെഫലം ഇപ്പോൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്നു. അങ്ങിനെ വൈദികമേലധ്യക്ഷന്റെ കല്പനകേട്ടതുകൊണ്ടു് അവക്കു ഇംഗ്ലീഷ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ പ്രാപിക്കാൻ കാലതാമസം നേരിട്ടു. ഇതിന്റെഫലമായി യോഗ്യതയുള്ള അകത്തോലിക്കർ ധാരാളമായി സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു. ഒരു കത്തോലിക്കൻ അകത്തോലിക്കനായ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ അട്ടക്കൽ അപേക്ഷകൊണ്ടുപോയാൽ നിശ്ചയമായും ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കയില്ല.

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[Mr. J. John Kattakayam.]

പിന്നെ കത്തോലിക്കരായിട്ടുള്ള ആളുകൾക്കു ഏതെങ്കിലും സഹായംസിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളിൽന്നാണു്. അതിൽ പലക്കും പക്ഷാന്തമുണ്ടായേക്കാം. എന്റെ മനഃസാക്ഷി ആ തരത്തിൽതന്നെയാണു് ഇന്നംനിലനില്ക്കുന്നതു്. താഴ്ന്നതരം ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഏതെല്ലാംതരത്തിലുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥ ചെയ്തുകൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടോ ആ തരത്തിൽതന്നെ ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കും ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയാനുള്ളതു്. മത്സരപരീക്ഷയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുന്നപക്ഷം അതു കാര്യക്ഷമതയ്ക്കു് അത്യാവശ്യം വേണ്ടതാണെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായക്കാരനാണു് ഞാൻ. എന്നാൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ നിലക്കു പരീക്ഷകനായാലും പരീക്ഷ്യനായാലും അതിനുവേണ്ടുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ പലതെറ്റുകൾക്കും ഉണ്ടാക്കാവുന്നതാണെന്നു എനിക്കും കേൾക്കാൻ ഇടയായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് മത്സരപരീക്ഷ എല്ലാസമുദായക്കാർക്കും വെയ്ക്കുക എന്നുവന്നാൽ അതിൽ ജനസംഖ്യാനുസരിച്ചുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ ആ വർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു് കൊടുക്കുക എന്നല്ലാതെ മറെറാന്നും ഞാൻ പറയുന്നില്ല. ഇനിയും മത്സരപരീക്ഷയും ഒന്നുംകൂടാതെ ഉദ്യോഗംകൊടുത്താലും അവശസമുദായക്കാർക്കു് എത്രകൊല്ലംകൊണ്ടാണു് പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കിട്ടുന്നതു്. ചുരുങ്ങിയതാലും ഇനിയും ഇരുപത്തഞ്ചുകൊല്ലം വേണം. ഡിഗ്രിയും സമ്പാദിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു തൊഴിലില്ലാതെ നടക്കുന്ന യുവാക്കന്മാരാണു് ഇന്നുകാണുന്ന ഈ പ്രക്ഷോഭണങ്ങൾ എല്ലാം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതു്. വീടും പറമ്പും എല്ലാം പണയമെഴുതി വലുതായ സംഖ്യമുടക്കി തൊഴിലില്ലാത്ത വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനായി ചിലവുചെയ്തു് യോഗ്യതസമ്പാദിച്ച ആളുകളും പത്രങ്ങളും അവശസമുദായങ്ങളും കൂടിയാണു് ഈ തരം അന്തഃഛിദ്രങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർക്കുന്നതു്. കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ നിർദ്ദേശം അനുസരിച്ചുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്താൽതന്നെയും ഈ കൂട്ടരുടെ ഈ പരാതി നിങ്ങുമെന്നു് എനിക്കു വിശ്വാസമില്ല. കുറെകാര്യങ്ങൾകൂടി എനിക്കു പറയാനുണ്ടെങ്കിലും എന്റെ ശരീരസ്ഥിതി അനുവദിക്കാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

MR. N. K. PADMANABHA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara cum Nedumangad*): സർ, ഏറെറവും വിഷമമായ ഒരു കാര്യമാണു് ഈ പബ്ലിക് സർവ്വീസ് വഴക്കിനു് ഒരു സമാധാനമുണ്ടാക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതു്. എത്രയോ വർഷക്കാലമായി സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദം സ്ഥാനത്തും അസ്ഥാനത്തും ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണു്. ഇതിനു ഒരു നിവാരണമാർഗ്ഗം ഉണ്ടാക്കാനായി ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു പബ്ലിക് സർവീസ്സ്

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കമ്മറിയെ നിയമിക്കുകയാണുണ്ടായത്. ഈ കമ്മറിയുടെ നിയമനത്തിൽ ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ ഹാർദ്ദമായി അനുമോദിക്കുന്നു. ഗവണ്മെൻറിൻെറ നയജ്ഞതക്കു സന്മനസ്സിനും ലക്ഷ്യമായ ഈ പ്രവൃത്തിയിൽ ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ വീണ്ടും അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്നു.

പബ്ലിക് സർവീസിൽ പ്രവേശനത്തിനു പ്രഥമവും പ്രധാനവുമായ മാനദണ്ഡം കായ്യക്ഷമതയാണെന്നാണ് കമ്മറി നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്. കായ്യക്ഷമതയെ കായ്യമായി കരുതാതെ ഒരു രാജ്യത്തെ വിവിധ സമുദായങ്ങളെ തമ്മിൽ യോജിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു യാതൊരു ഗവണ്മെൻറിനും സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. പക്ഷെ പരിതസ്ഥിതികളെക്കൂടി അറിയണം. അതായതു് ചില സമുദായക്കാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം പബ്ലിക് സർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശനം ഇല്ലാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. മുഖ്യമായി എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഡിപ്രസ്സ്ഡ് ക്ലാസിനെപ്പറ്റിയാണു്. അവർക്കു ൦ ശതമാനം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ മാറ്റിവച്ചശേഷമെ മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കായി ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ വീതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കാവൂ. പിന്നീടു ൫ ശതമാനം പരീക്ഷയ്ക്കായി വയ്ക്കുകയും ഏതാനുംഭാഗം ന്യൂനസമുദായക്കാർക്കായി വയ്ക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതു് നന്നായിരിക്കും. ഈ ഡിപ്രസ്ഡ് ക്ലാസിൽ ഏകദേശം ൧൦ ലക്ഷം ആളുകളുണ്ടു്. അതിൽ ക്രസ്ത്യൻ ഡിപ്രസ്ഡ് ക്ലാസിനെ ക്രസ്ത്യൻ വിഭാഗത്തോടുകൂടിച്ചേർത്തു് ആ വിഭാഗത്തിനു പ്രാധാന്യം കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നല്ലാതെ അതിൽപ്പെട്ട അധഃകൃതക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കു ഈ വ്യവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടു് വിശേഷാൽ ഗുണമൊന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇങ്ങനെ വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് മുന്നോക്കക്കാരായ ക്രസ്ത്യൻവിഭാഗത്തിനു കൂടുതലായ അനുകൂല്യം ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ ഇതൊരു സൌകര്യമാകും. അധഃകൃതക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ പേരുപറഞ്ഞു് മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗസമ്പാദനത്തിൽ കൂടുതൽ അനുകൂല്യം കിട്ടുമെന്നല്ലാതെ അധഃകൃതർക്കു് പ്രത്യേക പ്രയോജനം ഇതുകൊണ്ടുണ്ടാകയില്ല. ഇതു് ഒരിക്കലും അനുവദിക്കത്തക്കതല്ല.

ഇനിയും കമ്മറിക്കു പറയിട്ടുള്ള മറ്റൊരുതെറ്റു് ഏറ്റവും കുറഞ്ഞ വിഭാഗക്കാരെ കണക്കാക്കാതെ ഡിവിഷൻസായും സബ്ഡിവിഷൻസായും, സെക്ഷൻസായും, സബ്സെക്ഷൻസായും സമുദായങ്ങളെ തരംതിരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഇതും ഒരിക്കലും ന്യായമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല. മി. കെ കെ. താമസ് പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ മുൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ ഏഴു വിഭാഗക്കാർ മാത്രമെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുള്ളു. ഇപ്പോൾ അതു് പതിമ്മൂന്നും പതിന്നാലും ആയിരിക്കുന്നു. റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു

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പോലെ ഏഴുകൊല്ലം കഴിഞ്ഞു് ഈ പ്രശ്നം വീണ്ടും പരിഗണിക്കപ്പെടുമ്പോൾ ഓരോ വ്യക്തിയും ഓരോ സമുദായമായിത്തീരുകയില്ലേ എന്നു ഞാൻ ബലമായി സംശയിക്കുന്നു. അങ്ങനെ വരികയാണെങ്കിൽ അനേകം അസാധാരണങ്ങളായ കുഴപ്പങ്ങൾ വരാനിടയുണ്ടു്. അതിനാൽ റിപ്പോർട്ടിലെ ജാതിതിരിപ്പു് ഒട്ടുംതന്നെ ശരിയായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല.

ഇനി മിനിസ്റ്റീരിയലും എക്സിക്യൂട്ടിവും ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ കായ്ക്ഷമതനാക്കി നിയമിക്കുന്നതിനു പത്തുശതമാനം നീക്കിവെക്കണമെന്നു റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറയുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതു് ഒരിക്കലും മതിയാകുന്നതല്ല. തീർച്ചയായും ൪൦ ശതമാനത്തിൽ കുറയാതെ മത്സരപ്പരീക്ഷക്കായി നീക്കിവയ്ക്കണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. ൬൦ ശതമാനം ഉദ്യോഗം റൊട്ടേഷൻ അനുസരിച്ചു നൽകണമെന്നാണു റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറയുന്നതു്. അതു് ഒരിക്കലും ശരിയല്ല. ഇങ്ങനെ തങ്ങൾക്കു ഒരു നിശ്ചിതശതമാനം ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസം ഒരു സമുദായത്തിനു് എപ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുവോ അന്നുമുതൽ ആ സമുദായത്തിനു മറുസമുദായങ്ങളോടൊപ്പം മത്സരിച്ചു് മുന്നോട്ടുവരണമെന്നുള്ള മത്സരബുദ്ധി ഇല്ലാതാകുന്നു. അതു് ആ സമുദായത്തിനുതന്നെയും ഹാനികരമാണു്. അതിനാൽ ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥ ശരിയായിട്ടുള്ളതോ സ്വീകാര്യമോ അല്ല.

ഇനി എനിക്കു് ആക്ടിംഗ് സർവീസുകാരെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് പറയാനുള്ളതു്. മൊത്തം മൂന്നുവർഷത്തിൽ കുറവായി ആക്ടിംഗ് സർവീസുള്ള പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൂടുതലുള്ള സമുദായത്തിലെ അംഗങ്ങളെ പിരിച്ചുവിട്ടിട്ടു് പ്രാതിനിധ്യ കുറവായിട്ടുള്ള സമുദായത്തിലെ അംഗങ്ങളെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറയുന്നതുപോലെ തുടച്ചുയായിട്ടു് മൂന്നുവർഷത്തിനു താഴെയുള്ള ആക്ടിംഗ്സർവീസ് കിട്ടുന്നതുതന്നെ എട്ടും പത്തും കൊല്ലമായി വിട്ടു വിട്ടു കിട്ടുന്ന ആക്ടിംഗ്സർവീസിനുശേഷമാണിരിക്കും. അങ്ങനെയുള്ളവരെ പിരിച്ചയക്കുക എന്നു പറയുന്നതു് ഒരിക്കലും ന്യായമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല.

ഇനി ഗവണ്മെൻറ്സഹായധനം വാങ്ങിക്കുന്ന പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളും അധികവും ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളുടെ കൈവശത്തിലുമാണു്. അവരുടെ സമുദായത്തിൽപ്പെട്ടവർ പരീക്ഷ പാസായിവരുമ്പോൾ ഇതരസമുദായത്തിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവരും സ്കൂളിൽ വളരെക്കാലമായി ജോലിയായിരിക്കുന്നവരുമായ ആളുകളെ മാറ്റി പാസായിവരുന്ന സ്വന്തസമുദായക്കാരെ നിയമിക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതു് സാധാരണയായി കണ്ടുവരുന്ന സംഭവമാണു്. ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും പ്രൈവറ്റുസ്കൂളുകളുടെ സഹായധനം

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വകയ്ക്ക് ആണ്ടുതോറും ഏതാണ്ട് ഒരു ലക്ഷം രൂപായോളം ചിലവാക്കിവരുന്നുണ്ട്. അതിനാൽ ഗ്രാൻറുപള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറാർഡർ അനുസരിച്ച് എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടത്തക്കവണ്ണം വേണ്ടഏർപ്പാട് ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണ് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം

ഒരു പബ്ലിക് സർവീസ് കമ്മീഷൻ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുക എന്നുള്ളതു നല്ലതുതന്നെയാണ്. എന്നാൽ അതിൻെറ പ്രസിഡൻറായി വെളിയിൽനിന്നും ഒരാളെ വരുത്തണമെന്നുള്ള ഈ കമ്മിറ്റിയിലെ പ്രസിഡൻറിൻെറ അഭിപ്രായത്തോട് ഞാൻ തീരെ യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തുതന്നെ യോഗ്യതയും സാമർത്ഥ്യവുമുള്ള അനേകം വിദ്വാന്മാരെ കാണാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നാണ് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം.

പിന്നീട് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു പോലീസ്, എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ മുതലായ വകുപ്പുകളിൽ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യം സ്വീകരിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ തീർച്ചയായും ജോലിനടപ്പിനു വളരെ വിഘാതം നേരിടും എന്നുള്ളതാണ്. അതിനാൽ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകളിൽ ഈ തത്വം സ്വീകരിക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ല.

എക്സൈസ്, ഫാറസ്റ്റ്, പോലീസ്, മുതലായ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകളിൽ കുറെക്കാലത്തേക്കു നായന്മാരെ നിയമിക്കാൻപാടില്ലാഎന്നുള്ള കമ്മറിയുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഞാൻ ശക്തിയായി പ്രതിഷേധിക്കുന്നു. ആ ഭാഗം റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ സ്ഥാനം പിടിച്ചതിൽ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുന്നു. ഒരു നായർ ബ്രിഗേഡ് ഉണ്ടു എന്നുള്ളതാണ് നായന്മാരെ കുറെക്കാലത്തേക്കു മേല്പറഞ്ഞ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകളിൽ നിയമിച്ചുകൂടാഎന്നു പറയാനുള്ള കാരണം നായർബ്രിഗേഡ്തന്നെ ചരിത്രപ്രാധാന്യമുള്ള ഒന്നാണ്. അതുണ്ടാവാൻകാരണവും ചരിത്രപരമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. കുറെ നായന്മാക്ക് ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടിമാത്രം സൃഷ്ടിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സ്ഥാപനമല്ലായതു്. അതിനാൽ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ അതു സംബന്ധിച്ചു അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഞാൻ ശക്തിയായിഎതിർക്കുന്നു.

മജിസ്ട്രട്ടന്മാരുടെ നിയമനത്തിൽ നാലിൽ ഒരുഭാഗം ബാറിൽ നിന്നുനിയമിക്കണമെന്നാണ് റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നതു്. കായ്ക്ഷമതയെ പുരസ്കരിച്ചു അതു തീർച്ചയായും. നാലിൽ മൂന്നുഭാഗംഎന്നാക്കണമെന്നാണ് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം. ഇതുകൂടി പ്രസ്താപിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ എൻെറ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Mr. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI (*Quilon cum Karunagapalli*) : സർ, ഇവിടത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള വഴക്കിനുശമനം വരുത്തുന്നതിനായി ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റിയോടു അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചതനുസരിച്ച് അവർസമർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളറിപ്പോർട്ടാണ് നമ്മുടെ മുമ്പാകെയി

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[Mr. A. N Visvanatha Pillai.]

രിക്കുന്നതു. ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽ നിന്നും അനുവദിപ്പെട്ടതുപോലെ രണ്ടു പ്രധാനകാര്യങ്ങളെ മുൻനിറുത്തിയാണു് കമ്മിറ്റി ആലോചനനടത്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതിൽ ഒന്നു് കാര്യക്ഷമതക്കു അശേഷം ഹാനിതട്ടാതെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ ആളുകളെ നിയമിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ സമർപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും, മറെറാന്നു കാര്യക്ഷമതക്കുഹാനികരമല്ലാതെ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യംനൽകുന്നതിനുമായിരുന്നു. കാര്യക്ഷമതയെന്നുള്ളതു് ഒരിക്കലും ഗവണ്മെൻറു സർവീസ്സിൽ നിന്നു മാററിവയ്ക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതുതന്നാണു്. പ്രൈവററായിട്ടു പണംകൊടുത്തു ഒരാളെകൊണ്ടു് ജോലിചെയ്യിക്കുമ്പോൾ അയാളേകൊണ്ടു് എത്രയുക്രൂരതൽ ജോലിചെയ്യിക്കാൻ നോക്കുമോ അതുപോലെ സർക്കാർ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിലും ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനനുസരണമായി ക്രൂരതൽ ജോലിചെയ്യിക്കേണ്ടതുആത്യാവശ്യമാകുന്നു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ പലവിധത്തിലുമുള്ള അസംതൃപ്തിയും, അസമാധനാവും തൽഫലമായി എവിടെയുംകാണപ്പെടുന്ന സമുദായ വിദ്വേഷവും എല്ലാം ഈ ഉദ്യോഗവഴക്കിൽ നിന്നുമാണു് ഉൽഭവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഇതു് ആക്ഷേപവിഷയമാക്കുന്നതല്ല. അതിനാൽ മേല്പറഞ്ഞ രണ്ടുകാര്യങ്ങളേ മുൻനിറുത്തിവേണം ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ടിനെപറ്റി പുനരാലോചിക്കേണ്ടതു്.

ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളെ ഇൻഫീരിയർ എന്നും, സുപ്പീരിയർ എന്നും രണ്ടായിട്ടാണല്ലോ തരംതിരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഇൻഫീരിയർ സർവീസ്സിൽ ജനസംഖ്യ അനുസരിച്ചു് ഉദ്യോഗം നൽകുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ വ്യവസ്ഥക്കിന്നു ശമനമുണ്ടാകുമെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങനെ ചെയ്തു് ഈ വഴക്കു ശമിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നാണെൻറെ അഭിപ്രായം. ഇനി സുപ്പീരിയർ സർവീസ്സിനേ പററി പറയാം. സുപ്പീരിയർ സർവീസ്സിനെപററി പറയുമ്പോൾ അതിനു അനുരൂപമായ കണക്കു കൂടി ഈസന്ദർഭത്തിൽ ഓർക്കുന്നതു നന്നായിരിക്കും. ഇതിൽ നാലു സമുദായങ്ങളാണു മുന്നിട്ടുനിൽക്കുന്നതു്; ഒന്നു് നായന്മാർ, രണ്ടു് ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, മൂന്നു മാത്തോമ്മാ, നാലു ജാക്കോബ്ബായിറ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾ. ഈ നാലുസമുദായങ്ങളും അക്കാലത്തു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ മുന്നിട്ടു നിന്നിരുന്നവരാണെന്നാരും വിസമ്മതിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു ക്രൂരതൽ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യംകിട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു് ചരിത്രപരമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടാണു്. അല്ലാതെ അന്നത്തെ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനേറയോ ഈസമുദായക്കാരുടെ പൂർവീകന്മാരുടേയൊ, തെററുകൊണ്ടല്ല. അതിനു അവരുടെ പിൻഗാമികളേ കുററം പറഞ്ഞതുകൊണ്ടു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല. സുപ്പീരിയർ സർവീസിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് താഴെ പറയുന്ന കണക്കുകൾ നമുക്കു ഈ വിഷയത്തിനു് ക്രൂരതൽ വെളിച്ചം

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നംകുന്നതാണ് ജനസംഖ്യയിൽ ൧.൧ ശതമാനമുള്ള ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്ക് ൧൫ ശതമാനം ഉദ്യോഗമുണ്ട്. ൧൩ ശതമാനം ജനസംഖ്യയുള്ള നായന്മാർക്ക് ൫൦ ശതമാനം ഉദ്യോഗമുണ്ട്.

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: നായന്മാരാണ് ഏറ്റവും താഴ്ന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നതെന്ന മെമ്പക്കറിയാമോ?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അറിയാം.

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ നില എന്താണ്?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: ബ്രാഹ്മണക്ക് വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളാണധികമുള്ളത്.

മാർത്തോമ്മാ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ജനസംഖ്യയിൽ ൨.൬ ശതമാനവും, അവക്കുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗം ൫ ശതമാനവുമാണ്. ജാക്കോബൈറ്റ് ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ൦.൩ ശതമാനവും ഉദ്യോഗം ൦.൨ ൫ ശതമാനവുമാകുന്നു.

MR. J. JOHN KATTAKAYAM: കത്തോലിക്കരുടെ ശതമാനം കൂടി അറിഞ്ഞാൽ കൊള്ളാം?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അതിന്റെ കണക്ക് ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടില്ല. ഈ കണക്ക് സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ ക്രമപ്രകാരമുള്ളവിധത്തിൽ എപ്രകാരം ബാധിക്കുമെന്ന് പരിശോധിച്ചു നോക്കാം. ജനസംഖ്യ അനുസരിച്ച് കിട്ടേണ്ടതിന്റെ പതിനഞ്ചിരട്ടി ഉദ്യോഗം ബ്രാഹ്മണരും മൂന്നിരട്ടി നായന്മാരും രണ്ടിരട്ടി മത്തോമ്മാക്കാരും കൈവശം വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ജാക്കോബൈറ്റ് സമുദായക്കാർക്ക് ചെയ്യേണ്ടവിധം മാത്രമെ അവരുടെ പക്കൽ ഉള്ളൂ.

ഇനി സുപ്പീരിയർ സർവീസിൽ തന്നെയുള്ള ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളുടെകാര്യം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ നൂറുരൂപായ്ക്കുമേൽ ശമ്പളമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ എണ്ണം ൭൫ ആണ് എന്നു കാണാം. ഇതിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്ക് ൩൦ ൦-ം നായന്മാർക്ക് ൨൫ ൭൫-ം മാത്തോമ്മാക്കാർക്ക് ൨൦ ൦-ം ജാക്കോബൈറ്റ്സിന് ൫ ൦-ം ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളാണ് ഇപ്പോഴുള്ളത്, അതായത് ബ്രാഹ്മണർ ൪൨ നായന്മാർ ൩൫, മാർത്തോമ്മാ ൪.൮, ജാക്കോബൈറ്റ്സ് ൭ ൧-ം ശതമാനമാണ്. അതിനാൽ ജനസംഖ്യാനുപാതികമായി നോക്കുമ്പോൾ ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്ക് അതിൽ ൫ ൪ മടങ്ങും നായന്മാർക്ക് ൧൫/൩൫ മടങ്ങും മാർത്തോമ്മാ സമുദായക്കാർക്ക് ൨ ൧/൨ മടങ്ങും ജാക്കോബൈറ്റ്സിന് അവർക്ക് ന്യായമായി ചെയ്യേണ്ട വിധവും ഉണ്ടെന്നു കണക്കുകൊണ്ട് കാണാൻ കഴിയും.

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MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI: പോലീസ് കമ്മീഷണർക്കു ഫ ൫ ൦ കാൺസ്റ്റബിൾമാരുടെ ശമ്പളവും, ലാൻഡ് റവന്യൂകമ്മീഷണക്കു ഫ ൨ ൦ അക്കൗണ്ടന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളവും അല്ലേ കൊടുക്കുന്നതു്.

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അതെ. ഇനിയും ക്രസ്ത്യൻ സമുദായത്തെ പൊതുവേ എടുത്തു നോക്കിയാൽ മുൻപറഞ്ഞ വ ഫ ൨ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ ൨൩൨ ഉദ്യോഗം അവർക്കുണ്ടു് എന്നു കാണാവുന്നതാണു്. അതു ൩൨.൫ ശതമാനവുമാണു്. എന്നാൽ ജനസംഖ്യ അനുസരിച്ചു വേണ്ടതു് ൨൨.൬ ശതമാനമെയുള്ളു. അതിനാൽ സമുദായങ്ങൾ പരസ്പരം കുറ്റം പറഞ്ഞതുകൊണ്ടു യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: മെമ്പർ ശതമാനക്കണക്കുകൂട്ടി പറഞ്ഞതു് ടോട്ടൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റിലെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കുടി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിയാണോ?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അല്ല.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: ഏതാനും കാലങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പു് ഏതാനും ചില സമുദായങ്ങളിലേ അംഗങ്ങൾക്കു തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സർവീസ്സിൽ ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുത്തുകൂടാ എന്നൊരു വയ്പു് ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നില്ലേ?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അതിന് ഇപ്പോഴുള്ളവരെ കുറ്റംപറയുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് എന്താണു് പ്രയോജനമെന്നു് എനിക്കുമനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: മുൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു പഠിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവക്കല്ലേ ഇപ്പോൾ നിയമനാധികാരമുള്ളതു്?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഇന്ത്യയുടെ ഒരു ഭാഗമാണെന്നുള്ളതു് വിസ്മരിച്ചുകളയരുതു്. ഇവിടെ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു സമുദായത്തിനു അവശത ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു എന്നുവരുകിൽ അതു ഇന്ത്യയിൽ പൊതുവേ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന ഒരവശതയായിരിക്കും. തിരുവിതാംകൂർ മാത്രം വിചാരിച്ചാൽ അതു പരിഹരിക്കാവുന്നതല്ല.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: ഈഴവർ തുടങ്ങിയ അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശനമില്ലാതിരുന്ന കാലത്തു ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മലബാറിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റു സർവീസ്സിൽ പ്രവേശനം നൽകിയിട്ടുള്ളതായി മെമ്പർക്കറിയാമോ?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: അങ്ങിനെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. എനിക്കറിവില്ല

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ഏതായാലും ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ ഒരു സന്ധി നിർദ്ദേശിക്കാനാണ് ആരംഭിക്കുന്നത്. അതായത് വിവിധസമുദായങ്ങളും തമ്മിൽ മൈത്രിയോടുകൂടി ജീവിക്കത്തക്കവിധം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഈഴവക്കു് എന്നത്തേക്കും അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുകയും ഇവിടെ സമാധാനം സ്ഥാപിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. അതിനാൽ കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കു് ഹാനിവരാതെ വർഗ്ഗീയപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം നൽകുമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്. ഇതുതന്നെയായിരുന്ന പരേതനായ മിസ്റ്റർ. വാട്ട്സ്സിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായവും. മിസ്റ്റർ. വാട്ട്സ്സ് തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ കായ്ങ്ങളേയും ജനങ്ങളേയും വിവിധസമുദായങ്ങളേയും നല്ലപോലെ പഠിച്ച് മനസ്സിലാക്കി സർവീസ്സിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുമായി ധാരാളം ഇടപഴകിട്ടുള്ള ഒരാളായിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളത് കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കു ഹാനികരമല്ലാതെ പബ്ളിക്കു് സർവ്വീസ്സിൽ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം നൽകണമെന്നാണു്. എന്റെ നിർദ്ദേശം സുപ്പീരിയർ സർവീസ്സിലെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ ഇരുപത്തിഅഞ്ചു് ശതമാനം കായ്ക്ഷമതക്കായും, പത്തുശതമാനം അർഹതക്കായും നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ട ബാക്കിയുള്ള അറുപത്തി അഞ്ചു് ശതമാനത്തിനു് ആവശ്യമുള്ളിടത്തിൽ ഇരട്ടിആളുകളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തു മത്സര പരീക്ഷനടത്തി നിയമനം നടത്തണമെന്നാണ്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഒരു സമുദായവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ സമത്വന്മാരല്ലാതെയില്ലെന്നാണെനിക്കു് തോന്നുന്നത്. സർവ്വകലാശാലപരീക്ഷകളിൽ വിജയികളാകുന്നവക്കു ഈ മത്സരപരീക്ഷ ഒരു വലിയ പ്രയാസമായി വരാനിടയില്ല.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: ഒരു ഒഴിവു് ഉണ്ടാകുമ്പോൾ പരീക്ഷ വെയ്ക്കണമെന്നാണോ മെമ്പറുടെഅഭിപ്രായം?

MR. A. N. VISVANATHA PILLAI: ഒഴിവുകൾ മുൻകൂട്ടി അറിയാൻ മാർഗ്ഗമുണ്ടു്. എത്രഒഴിവുണ്ടോ അതിലിരട്ടി ആളുകളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കണമെന്നാണ ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞത്.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: Sir, I do not wish to take much time of the House. But I have to bring to the notice of the House my motion for a supplementary grant and in so doing I only want to make a few observations on the discussion in regard to the recommendations of the Public Service Recruitment Committee in this House. Let me at the very commencement remove a little misconception that seems to have crept in somewhere about the remarks I made about the report, both in this House and in the Lower House.

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[Rao Sahib Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.]

In introducing the motion for a supplementary grant in this House I said that the recommendations of the Committee are weighty and valuable. I still hold that opinion. In the Lower House, I said that the report bewildered Government and I still hold that opinion also. The reason is this. The recommendations of the Committee are really valuable. But the dissenting minutes recorded by as many as nine out of the twelve members bewildered Government and still bewilder them. After listening to the discussion in the House, the bewilderment is not less but more I will just illustrate my point by giving a few instances. I found in the course of discussion that some members are absolutely against any kind of communalism. My friend Mr. Paramesvaran Pillai will not look at it. He is all for efficiency and merit. Then there are members standing at the opposite pole—I might call them rank communalistic. Then there are other members holding all shades of opinion on this point. Some members suggested for instance that 25 per cent. of the appointments must be reserved for merit. A few others, I believe, suggested that 50 per cent. should be so reserved and still others would have 75 per cent. The climax is that suggested by Mr. Paramesvaran Pillai namely cent per cent. for merit. You could really understand whether it is not a bewilderment to Government, when they have to make a decision on the basis of the views expressed not only in this House but in the other House also.

Then again coming to the question of division of communities what I have to say is this. The committee gives a classification for purposes of communal rotation. In the course of discussion it was pointed out here that Christians should be divided into two classes, Syrians and non-Syrians; Hindus into two classes; caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus. I personally do not know whom they mean by non-caste Hindus. Well I ask, will the various communities be satisfied with such a four-fold classification. If you divide Christians into Syrians and non-Syrians, what about Mr. Kattakayam. I think in the course of the discussion he urged the claims of Catholics. If you go further there are the Syrian Catholics and the Latin Catholics. I doubt whether the majority of the Christians will be satisfied with such a classification. Again, if the Hindus are divided into caste-Hindus and non-caste Hindus as my friend Mr. Sankaran would have it, it is doubtful whether they will be satisfied with this division. The non-caste Hindus, I believe, include Ezhava, Pulaya, Paraya, Kammala, Nadar, &c. How are you going to distribute appointments among these different communities.

MR. KOMILEZHATHU SANKARAN: What I mean by that is that the Hindus will be satisfied if the first appointment goes to the leastrepresented community from among the sub-division.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: That is exactly my point. You want the Hindus to be divided into caste-Hindus and non-caste Hindus and the latter to be sub-divided into Parayas, Pulayas, &c, and if this process is carried on, every individual, as somebody said, may have to be regarded as a community. To simplify matters we

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must have as few divisions as possible and distribute appointments among them in some well arranged order. If you say first of all divide the Hindus into caste and non-caste and again the non-caste Hindus into further sub-divisions and so on and so forth, there is no end to it. Let me make it clear that I am not expressing these views on behalf of Government. I am only stating my own personal views in the matter. As I said at the outset, Government have not come to a decison on any of the recommendations of the Public Service Recruitment Committee. I have only pointed out the difficulties that confront Government in view of the various opinions expressed both here and elsewhere.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI: May I know from the member whether the volume of notes taken by him will be taken into consideration?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I can assure my friend that all the notes I have taken which come to nearly half my note book will be duly considered.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI: What about other members' views?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I may assure him that nothing worth noticing has escaped my notice.

The difficulty of adopting some satisfactory classification of communities is there. Some members referred to the Public Service Commission, and Mr. Govindan said that he is for having a commission of five members. As a member of the Public Service Recruitment Committee I said that a commission of five is too unwieldy. The number of members must be as small as possible. I even wanted to agree with the Chairman who was for having only one commissioner, an impartial gentleman. If you can get one such commissioner it would be highly commendable. If that is not possible, it is better to have a commission of three members. This was my suggestion as a member of the committee. I still think, Sir, that a committee of more than three is really unnecessary and unwieldy. The only point I have to urge in that connection, if my friend Mr. Govindan, wants a commission of five on the ground that the major communities should be represented on that commission, is that the very object of the commission is going to be frustrated. You are going to lay down rules to regulate recruitment to service. You want to appoint a commission to see that these rules are carried out strictly. You must appoint on that commission men whom you can trust, men who will be impartial and will not take sides with any community. Those who get into the commission must be gentlemen who will look after the interests of all communities and not of their communities only. That is the view I take. There is no room for representatives of various communities there. There must either be one commissioner or a commission of three.

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[Rao Sahib Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.]

Again, Sir, in regard to distribution of appointments, Mr. Arumukham Pillai has suggested that it should be done on the basis of the amount of tax paid by the communities. That is making matters still worse. We have now not only religious and social distinction but also the tax-paying distinction It is now clear why I said in the Lower House, and why I repeat it here, that the whole discussion on the report is simply bewildering.

MR. M. N. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI: If representation is based on taxation as pointed out by my friend Mr. Arumukham Pillai, will it not be that a man who pays the highest tax will become the Dewan of Travancore?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: I should think so. Some big Jenmi from Muvattupuzha taluk will probably become the Dewan of Travancore. That is one of the points put forward in this House. Government, you will admit, are confronted with great difficulties in this matter. But I may assure the House once more that all the views expressed here as well as in the Lower House will be very carefully considered by Government before they make a final decision on this very important and difficult question. I hope the House will all unanimously vote for my small demand.

MR. KOCHIKAL P. BALAKRISHNAN TAMPI: By voting on this demand will it mean that we have accepted the report of the Public Service Recruitment Committee as such?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI: Your vote will only mean that you have granted my small d mand for Rs. 245 on account of the establishment charges of the staff eemployed by the special officer.

CHAIRMAN: As the discussion has come to a close I will put the demand to the vote of the House.

The demand was put and carried.

CHAIRMAN We will now rise and meet again to-morrow at 11. A.M.

The Council adjourned at 4-30 P. M.

P. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI,
Secretary to the Sri Chitra State Council.

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